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Historical and biographical works

THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

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MATTHEW PARKER,

THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

Various Transcripts of Records, Letters, Instruments, and other Papers, for the asserting or illustrating the foregoing History.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. II.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXXI.

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THE LIFE AND ACTS OF MATTHEW, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

A dangerous year. Bomelius, an astrologer, imprisoned by the Archbishop; foretels great dangers impending. He sends messages thereof to the Archbishop; and the Secretary. The Archbishop consulted with for the vacant bishoprics. His judgment of persons nominated thereto. The Bishop of Worcester resolved upon for London. His unwillingness to accept it.

WE are arrived unto the year 1570, a year of danger. And England was now full of fears and expectations of great evils to befall it. The Papists grew confident, and cheered themselves with mighty hopes that their abolished religion should be soon restored again. And many feared the Queen's death from figures that were cast of her nativity and reign. There was now in England one Dr. Bomelius, a foreign physician of great fame, pretending to be skilled much in art, magic, and astrology, as well as physic; perhaps the son of Henricus Bomelius, a preacher of God's words at Wezel, and that wrote a copy of verses, printed before Bale's Centuriest. The people resorted extremely to him to be cured of their sicknesses, having a wonderful confidence in him and in his magic. The noise

Anno 1570.

An astrologer portends danger to the nation; and

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1570.

of him fled to the Court. But for practising physic, and that art without licence, and tampering with the common people, and probably some other dangerous practices of his, he had been by the Archbishop imprisoned in the King's Bench, and was there a close prisoner for some time. A little before Easter the Archbishop gave him liberty to be a prisoner at large; yet charging the keeper that he should practise no more upon the Queen's subjects; and in the beginning of April intended to have taken bond of him shortly to depart the realm, according to such purpose as the Archbishop had a good while towards him, and not disliked by certain of her Majesty's Council, as Sir William Fitz-Williams told him from the Lord Keeper and the Secretary. But when he was ready to take this bond, he was prevented by Bomelius himself, who sent his wife to him with a letter, dated April 3. The contents whereof were, that he was desirous to have leave to come to his Grace, to forewarn and give notice of some great danger impending over the nation at that time; that so the Archbishop, by discovering speedily unto the Queen what Bomel should reveal unto him, by prayers, diligent preparations, and moderate counsels, the storm might be diverted, or at least mitigated. The letter may be found in the Appendix.

Desires to come to the speech of the Archbishop;

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Num. LIX.

But he sends him to the Council.

Our prudent Archbishop did not think fit to have this man before him alone; but because the contents were of high importance, the very same day he wrote to the Secretary, that he thought it best to send Bomelius to their Honours of the Council, where they might examine him more sufficiently. He knew not what this person had to say, but he feared, as he wrote, the devil was busy in mischief. The Archbishop, indeed, was the more jealous and suspicious of malice at that time, there being a mischievous practice, as he heard, intended against the Queen's navy, by poisoning the ordinance and victuals.

The bottom of the Archbishop's barge bored with holes.

He saw, as he added in his letter, *Judas non dormit:* and how there was some spite reached also to him but the last term, when some sons of Belial gauged his barge in divers places in the bottom: that if it had not been espied,

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he [the Archbishop] himself had like to have been drenched in the midst of the Thames. On which he modestly made this reflection; "That would indeed have been no great "loss of such an one as he, but he would have been sorry "his family should have perished, [which were in the barge "with him,] or that such *incircumcisi Philistæi* should have "gloried by insulting with, *Ubi est Deus eorum?*" But as to Bomelius, he said, that if his secrecy were but an astrological experience or prediction, it was the less; but he feared further, that it was of some conspiracy. *Sub omni lapide*, as he concluded, *scorpio latet*. Yet, *Quia timidi mater non flet*, I am thus bold, peradventure more suspicious than I need; but I refer all to your wisdom. Bomelius accordingly was brought before the Secretary, and had some private communication with him.

Bomelius writes to the Secretary concerning the Queen's nativity.

And, April 7, this learned astrologer writ to the Secretary: the contents of whose letter was, that by his judgment upon the scheme of the Queen's nativity, and another scheme drawn at her first entrance upon her kingdom, he had discovered to him what course was to be taken for the good of the nation. He sent the Secretary also a fragment of a book by him writ, entitled, *De Utilitate Astrologiæ*. Where he had made an observation, that at the revolution of five hundred years, all along the history of countries, and particularly of England, great changes had happened in the respective kingdoms. And this he proved down from Brute to the present year 1570. And he reckoned from the beginning of the Norman Conquest to that year were five hundred and two years. This fragment, together with his letter to the Secretary, I have in my possession. He promised the Secretary, that when he should be admitted to his presence, he would then open before him the judgments of the two schemes, namely, that of the Queen's γένεσις, and of the beginning of her reign.

Writes to him again concerning his departure to Russia.

Soon after he wrote again to the Secretary, "That it "was now near a month since he had offered his service "and pains to the Queen, and had directed a way to re-"medy the present intestine evils without any effusion

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1570.

"of blood; but that the delay of the time shewed, that as "well his pains as his device was not accepted. Since "therefore the Russia Ambassador had several times sent "messengers to him, and desired his service, not without "the promise of a large yearly reward, and he had deter-"mined to do nothing in this, as well as other things, with-"out the Secretary's licence and counsel, he earnestly de-"sired him to declare his mind to his servant whom he "then sent, before the said Ambassador on Sunday follow-"ing should present to the Queen Bomel's supplication, "therein shewing the cause of his detainment in prison, "and craving a free departure from this island into Russia. "That the Secretary would hereby do him a very great "pleasure, and oblige him for ever. That if the Queen's "Majesty were minded to use his pains, he should be al-"ways ready at her command; but if she granted him li-"berty to depart, the Secretary should not only know, by "his letters to be sent to him from those parts, the man-"ners and tempers of the Muscovites, and their neigh-"bours, the quality of the air, the situation of the country, "and other things memorable there; but he should also "every year receive from him presents, as testimonies of his "thankful mind, which that great country produced. And "lastly, that if he could not be profitable to her Majesty "by his art, he beseeched the Secretary that he would se-"cond the Ambassador's petition for him to the Queen, "and prevail with her for his liberty: which he doubted
295 "not he would do out of his accustomed humanity and in-"nate love towards learned men."

This a dangerous year to England.

What ear was given to this man at the Court, and what afterwards became of him, I know not. But indeed Bomelius gave credit to his art, as well as his art gave fame to him. For this year, as was said before, was a year of extreme danger and apprehensions unto the Queen and kingdom, both from the Spaniard, the French King, and Scotland; all which threatened an invasion. And a new rebellion began to break out at home in the parts of Norfolk. And the Pope by a bull, which an Englishman brought into

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England, deprived the Queen of her kingdom, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. And finally, certain Popish conjurers foretold strange changes to happen this year. But yet God brought the Queen to the end of this year safely and successfully, and of many more.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1570.

The Archbishop hastens again the filling the vacant sees.

The see of York had been long void; and though Grindal, Bishop of London, being a north countryman by birth, was the last year nominated to succeed there, yet still to the beginning of this he remained in London, and was neither consecrated nor gone to York, because the diocese of London was not yet filled by another, the Queen being still unresolved. The Archbishop again did his part by telling the Secretary, by a letter, March the 30th, that her Majesty should do prudently to be at a point in these by-matters: the delay whereof would work, he said, more displeasure to the see of York than she heard of. And one argument more he used with the Secretary to persuade the Queen to hasten, and that was, that he was then preparing to go into Kent, his own diocese, where he had not been, as he told the Secretary, a good while, and that he was looked for, and he trusted should do some service there. And if these persons, which were to be confirmed some, and some consecrated, were ready, so that it might be done for them while he was at Lambeth, it would save them much charge, or else they must come to him to Canterbury. Wherefore he prayed the Secretary to obtain the licence and favour of her Majesty thereunto.

His judgment as to that of London.

But this matter was not despatched so. For now again the third or fourth time, when the thoughts of filling the vacant sees came into the Queen's mind, the Archbishop was called upon again by the Secretary for his judgment, both as to a successor to my Lord of London, and a fit person for Oxford. As to the former he said, "That although "he had formerly written his judgment boldly [for Aylmer], yet at that present he thought thus, That her Majesty could have none of such as were in place of Bishops, to begin new game again [according to his blunt "way of speaking] for fees and fruits. And therefore he

Aylmer.

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"thought, except it were the Bishop of Hereford, [Scory,] "in respect of changing one misery for another, [living, "it seems, at Hereford very uncomfortably,] he nor any "other would take it. For as the poet saith, *Negotiorum* "*vim qui sibi velit comparare, Navem,* (*Londinensem,*) &c. "*hæc duo comparate.* Besides, that most of them [that "were Bishops already] were not fit for the place: for "though many of them were too weak to use themselves "in such popularity, yet he thought divers of them not to "be able to use their place and the time with their easiness "of nature, as were convenient. Although, he declared to "the Secretary, he must needs say of them, they were as "notably well learned, and well occupied, as any Prince in "Europe had." Then he came to some particular persons, of whom the Secretary desired his opinion. The one was the Dean of York, [Matthew Hutton,] "He took him, "he said, for an honest, quiet, and learned man, but he "thought him not meet for that place." As for Mr. Provost of Eaton, [Dr. Day,] another propounded for London, "Him in all respects he thought meetest for that room, "and he thought the Londoners would take him better "than the Dean of Westminster, [Goodman being another "propounded,] whom he judged to be a solid grave man, "yet in his own private judgment, peradventure, too se-"vere."

Dean of York.

Provost of Eaton.

Dean of Westminster.

As to that of Oxford.

As for Oxford bishopric, he said, Mr. Cooper, as Dean, [of Christ Church,] could not have it, nor could the University well forbear him. Mr. Westphaling [another propounded] was a wise sober man; but because he was but a Prebendary, [of Christ Church,] and not Master of a college, he was, peradventure, the less meet; he meant, because the 296 bishopric wanted an house. And for that Mr. Bickley was Master of an house, [viz. Merton,] and kept thereby a port of worship, the Archbishop thought he would well serve the turn: and he knew that he was disciplinable, and would be ruled by Council, and was of his own nature both sincere and stout enough, and apt to govern. But because Bickley was his Chaplain, he added, that he spake this not of par-

Bickley.

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tiality, for he did but hurt him; howsoever, said he, the world take such things for great preferments: but that he weighed more his duty to the Queen's Majesty in her service, and to the commonwealth, than the respects of men's quiet. That this was an odious argument of writing in such comparisons; but he knew, he said, to whom he writ. But notwithstanding all these attempts and discourses, Oxford was not disposed of, nor shall be many a year yet.

The Bishop of Worcester pitched upon for London.

And a person is brought into the diocese of London that was scarce thought of; namely, Sandes, Bishop of Worcester. Sandes was in his nature a stirring and stout man, a promoter of the Queen's ecclesiastical commands: one that had been a Bishop a great while, and so acquainted with the practical part of the office: one who in former times had resided often in London, and was still very dear and beloved to the citizens. These things among others considered, the Queen pitched upon him as the properest man to be Bishop of London, laying aside all others in nomination. The Secretary forthwith, in the month of April, despatched a letter to him to come up, signifying withal the Queen's pleasure. But he, on the other hand, was extremely loath, upon many accounts, to stir from Worcester, knowing well what a troublesome office it would be to be chief Pastor here, as also no doubt it somewhat swayed with him, the new charges of fees and fruits, as the Archbishop had mentioned before.

His great unwillingness to accept it.

This made him send his private letters to the Secretary, shewing his great unwillingness, and earnestly entreating him to use his interest to get him excused, and to propound some other person to the Queen. He urged his great inabilities for so eminent a place, declining it upon the account of his wants in mind and infirmities in body. His Chancellor, indeed, had done what he could at the Court to further his remove to London, probably out of hopes of making some benefit to himself if his Bishop were translated hither. He had hinted also to some, as though the Bishop would be willing to make this change; and it came to the Secretary's ears. But all this was said and done without

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the Bishop's consent or knowledge. More letters still did Sandes write to Court to get himself off; for he was altogether unwilling to take the place upon him. But the Secretary at last grew angry with him; sending him word by his Chancellor, that the Queen had, in her special favour, pitched upon him above all others, and that her Majesty misliked to alter her determination. He was also sundry ways informed of the clamours in London against him for his refusal, and how that people with an universal consent had desired him. So that in conclusion, partly fearing the clouds of the Queen's and the Court's displeasure, and partly touched in conscience, he wrote to the Secretary, that if none other were resolved upon, he did submit, and would accept the office; looking upon this determination of the Prince and Council, and the desire of the diocese, to be a calling, which in his conscience he ought to obey and comply with. This, he said, touched his conscience very near; the calling of the Prince and Privy Council, the calling and consent of the whole people, and his private friends earnestly requiring the same, had moved him to think this calling was of God. Nor was the displeasure of the Secretary a small motive to him. For the Bishop having sent a letter to the Secretary by his man, signifying that he would accept it, though much against his will, the Secretary was in some heat that he shewed himself so backward, and expressed the same in the answer he gave to the Bishop's servant. Which he acquainting his Lord with, it occasioned another letter to the Secretary, shewing now some more degrees of willingness than before; but expressing great trouble, that the Secretary was offended with him. "He looked, he said, for comfort and good advice, but "he seemed to reap grief and displeasure. That he gave no "just cause of offence; his conscience stood clear. That he "ever loved and honoured him before all other men. That 297 "he had been and would be ever ready at his command-"ment in what he could; and where he could not other-"wise pleasure him, he daily commended him in his "prayers unto Him, who could in all things benefit him.

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"That if he gloomed upon him, he should serve Christ's "Church with less comfort and less profit. The world "thought, he said, that he was his friend, and that he "might do somewhat with him: and that if the Papists "should learn this misliking, they would easily overthrow "him, and that would much weaken his work in God's "Church." His Chancellor also had told him, that his good friend and patron, the Earl of Leicester, was much offended with him because he had addressed to the Secretary, and not to him, and that he had expressed as much to the said Chancellor in words. So that he had in effect lost him for that neglect. Upon which he said, "Evil was "his hap, if the Secretary should mislike of him also. In "short, he told him, that if he bade him come up, he "would, and take the office upon him, whatsoever became "of him, standing to his favour and courtesy: and for that "matter, he should wholly dispose of him; and prayed him "to send him three lines to know what he should do, and "whether he were discharged or expected up." So true was it, that the Bishops in those days did not care for removals, especially to the busy diocese of London, as the Archbishop had signified before to the Secretary. And thus was the Archbishop put by of the person that he so earnestly recommended for London; no question, by some of his enemies at Court: which he, with some trouble and regret, could not but take notice of. But he passed it by in silence.

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BOOK IV.

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CHAP. II.

Manchester college in danger. The Archbishop interposes with the Secretary about it. The Court of Faculties a vexation to the Archbishop. Refuseth to give a dispensation to a boy. Displeasure taken against him by the Earl of Leicester for the denial. His plea for himself. He makes rules for his Faculty Court. A Latin catechism by his means comes forth, to be taught in schools.

Manchester college in danger.

PITIFUL now was the case of Manchester college in Lancashire, and near a dissolution, where good preachers were, or might have been resident, for the instruction of the northern people, where preaching was most wanted, and ignorance of true religion abounded. Some gentleman of the Court [Mr. Killigrew, as it seems,] having obtained of the Queen letters to that college, to make some disadvantageous lease of the best revenues of it, the Warden was in trouble for some time about it, unwilling in point of conscience to grant it; so that he chose honestly rather to resign his wardenship wholly, than to do it. He applied himself in this strait to the Archbishop; who represented the matter to the Secretary; and laboured, that, by his interest with her Majesty, the best might be made of such a damage to the Church; signifying to the said Secretary by his letter, that the Warden being weary of continuing in that college with such incumbrance as he had thereby, and having no hope to be relieved hereafter of his trouble, except he betrayed that college, with giving over a lease of the best lands it had, had desired to relinquish it to her Majesty's disposition; so that it might be converted to some college in Cambridge; which might hereafter send out some preachers to inhabit that quarter; and also by the rest of the revenue to maintain certain students. This motion of the Warden the Archbishop espoused, undoubtedly to prevent the whole revenues from being quite swallowed up, which he saw at present in such imminent danger. For he thought, as he wrote further to the Secretary, that he

Paper House, May 4. The Archbishop's advice about it.

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should do a good deed in moving her Highness to this alteration; and to procure the turning of the lands to St. John's college, where he was brought up for the first beginning of his studies, with what condition of order might seem best to his wisdom. And hereby, the Archbishop said, that, in his opinion, he should shew himself a good benefactor.

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Anno 1576.

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The revenues diminished.

But notwithstanding this motion, the college was not quite dissolved, yet it became despoiled of these beforesaid, her best, revenues, being granted away by another Warden, perhaps procured to succeed for that end and purpose. For to relate what I find of this college about six years after, *viz.* anno 1576, when the college was in a very ill condition, by reason of an ill Warden, whose name was Herle. Complaint being made of him above by the Fellows, whereof one Carter was the chief, a commission was issued forth to the Lord Treasurer Burghley and Secretary Walsingham, to make inquisition into his embezzlements, and other his actions relating to the college. And in the very time of the trial of the truth of Mr. Warden's dealings, as those two noble persons had appointed, the lease of the chief revenues of the college were under the Great Seal passed over unto Mr. Killigrew, Gentleman of her Majesty's Privy Chamber; and that upon such conditions and small rent as was by the said Warden granted, (as the abovesaid Carter had informed Dr. Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's,) to the utter undoing of the said college, unless some remedy were had. Whereupon the said Nowel, a native born of Lancashire, out of compassion to this college, town, and country, took upon him to solicit the said Lord; acquainting him by letter with this destructive lease; and beseeching both him and the said Secretary Walsingham, in respect of the good instruction of the whole people of that country in their duties to God and her Majesty, to be a means that the said college might be preserved in some convenient state; and that the said Warden, the author of the ruin of the said college (according as their Honours had already taken order by their letters) might receive no rents of the said college, until such time as his doings, by the

Dean Nowel applied to.

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return of the depositions to the articles into the country directed, were fully examined and tried: and likewise that Mr. Carter's great charges, who by this most necessary suit must needs be greatly indebted, might be considered.

What the issue of this commission was I cannot tell; but I suppose that considerable revenue in the lease granted to Killigrew was past recovery, and Herle thrown out of the wardenship, as he deserved. The college curtailed of its incomes was founded anew by Queen Elizabeth two years after. But now to return back to our history.

The Archbishop wisheth the Court of Faculties dissolved.

Our Archbishop had much trouble with the Court of Faculties at divers times, having been put upon granting dispensations, which himself liked not of: insomuch as he had a long time offered in Convocation to his brethren to procure the despatchment of that *offensive court*, as he called it. And the same he signified unto the Secretary and the Privy Council: for he had, he said, more grief thereby than gain, wishing it were wholly suppressed, as reason and statute would bear with all; or else committed to some others that could do it, to use his own modest words, with better discretion. It nettled him also, that divers in their open sermons, and others in their private letters, accused the management of this Court. And therefore he wished it were committed to some others that could do it with better discretion, and, as he said, he was sure there were many: for so several have professed, said he, in their sermons and letters.

Suit to the Archbishop to dispense with a boy to hold a prebend.

There arose a new fatigue to our Prelate from the former cause, whereof he complained in the beginning of April to his friend. A very good prebend, called Riccal, in the church of York, was lately fallen void. Mr. Hammond, of that county, a rich man, had procured this to be granted in advowson to him: and he intended it for his son, a young boy. This coming to the knowledge of the Bishop of London, who was now elect of York, he, for prevention sake, earnestly requested the Archbishop not to grant his dispensation to any child. Shortly after, the Dean of York wrote to him in this form of words.

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Anno 1570. Dean of York to the Archbishop against it.

"I understand that suit shall be made to your Grace by "one Mr. Hammond, of Yorkshire, that his son, a boy of "tender age, and little learning and discretion, may be "dispensed withal to receive a prebend in this church, that "was Doctor Spencer's, called Riccal: that prebend is a "very good one, and meet for a preacher. This country is "much destitute, and standeth in need of preachers. His "father, that sues for it, is a great rich man, and *filius* "*hujus sæculi:* therefore, I beseech your Grace, let him "not abuse your authority to bring his purpose to pass: "and then I doubt not but it shall be bestowed upon a "preacher." 299

Earl of Leicester concerned in it.

The Earl of Leicester had first recommended to the Archbishop one Brookes, a creature of his, as it seemed, for this prebend. But when Brookes came before the Archbishop, he shewed difficulty in yielding to him, unless the Bishop of London, who was now going to the see of York, could be contented; [it being very reasonable the Bishop should have the approbation of his own Prebendaries.] Brookes replied, that the Earl of Leicester sent him for his hand, and that his Honour would prefer it to the Queen: and also, that my Lord of London favoured him in his suit. Whereupon the Archbishop subscribed his hand. But when Leicester should now, according to his word, have despatched this business with the Queen, his mind was changed towards Brookes, having somebody else to gratify with this prebend, namely, rich Hammond; who very likely, by some fair gift or promise, had now gained over Leicester to be there where most was to be had. But to come off with Brookes, and to evade the imputation of fickleness, he pretended to him, that her Majesty had appointed this prebend to the Bishop of London's devotion.

The Archbishop's trouble upon the denial of it.

Shortly after were delivered to the Archbishop letters from a certain nobleman, as I find in a letter of the Archbishop's, concealing therein the name; but it was Leicester. The contents whereof were to desire, that he would grant his dispensation for the abovesaid child; yet honourably written thus, "if you shall think it meet." But the Arch-

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bishop thought it not meet, and so stayed his grant. But this raised a great dust against the good Archbishop, this nobleman's haughty and imperious spirit not enduring any incompliance. For this purpose, it was urged against the Archbishop, that he had given dispensations to children before now; and particularly, that he had dispensed with six that were Bishops' sons, for ecclesiastical livings. And moreover, this great man, by his sway in the Privy Council, got an order thence, that the Secretary should send to the Archbishop, to know whether he had not granted dispensations to children. To which he answered in general words, as the demand was general, not knowing so much particularity in the *faculty* matter as he had been since informed. He also offered his book [of all such as had dispensations granted] particularly to be viewed; which also he ordered to be recorded, and sent as soon as time should serve. He expostulated also with the Secretary concerning the unreasonable request of this nobleman, and referred it to his conscience, whether he thought noblemen must be thus satisfied. "Noblemen, said he, must be and I trust "will be answered with reason. If any will not, I refer all "to Almighty God, who is the true *Nobleman* indeed. And "if any nobleman, as it seems was affirmed against him, "had found any such faculties granted by him, he wished "the seal might be well viewed, whether it were not coun-"terfeited: for he knew, he said, what he had done; and "that if he were sifted never so narrowly, yet it should not "be found that he had given dispensations of ecclesiastical "livings to Bishops' sons, neither six nor three, to his re-"membrance."

Nobleman.

His plea for himself.

The Secretary and the Lords of the Council, sometime before, had in the Queen's name earnestly required the Bishops, as they would be accounted worthy of their calling, to employ all their care and industry in procuring more diligent preaching and teaching, in staying the obedient subjects in their duties, and to induce others from their disorders and errors to the service of Almighty God, and to the good governance of the realm. The Archbishop took

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occasion hence to plead for what he had done; saying, that since their nobilities had agreed together in this request, they of the episcopal order should satisfy them especially: and as for all others, said he, in a brave stoutness and hardiness of spirit, in a good cause, *Cadant a latere tuo mille, et decem millia, &c. ad me non appropinquabit. Sunt enim quidam, quos siquid juves, plumâ levior gratia siquid offendas, plumbeas iras gerunt.* Aiming at Leicester, I suppose, by those words; and begging the Secretary, "Not to "take grief, as though these words were written to him "with any intent to make him guilty of these crimes; but "he writ *coram Deo in amaritudine animæ suæ*, not "doubting but that his Honour had far better contempla-"tions; and lastly, praying that he might have God in his "eyes, however some *noble men will be men.*" And so he sent to the Secretary, Dr. Drury, who had been his officer in that place nine years, that he and others might be informed of all specialities concerning this office.

CHAP. II.

Anno 1570.

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Here I think it not amiss to subjoin the orders the Archbishop made for the better regulation of this Court, so subject to be abused, as they were transcribed for me out of a manuscript in the archives of the church of Canterbury.

The Archbishop's rules for the faculties. N. Battely.

Observations for orders to be taken in the Court of Faculties, set forth by Archbishop Parker.

I. No faculty to be granted but upon petition made in writing to the Archbishop, viewed, examined, and assigned with the hand of the said Archbishop, or with the hand of the Master of the Faculties, with these words, *Fiat petitio, prout petitur.*

Archiv. Eccl. Cantuar.

II. The due and appointed fee of every such faculty to be subscribed under the said petition by the hand of the Archbishop, or the Master of the Faculties, *in hæc verba,* *Tax.* { *Reg.* / *Archiep.* } Which petition thus assigned and subscribed, to be a warrant to the Clerk of the Faculties, to make out such faculty ready to the Seal.

III. That Monday and Friday be appointed every week for sealing days: whereat the Master of the Faculties and

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the Clerk shall be present, comparing by reading before sealing the warrant subscribed, with the dispensation and warrant, to remain filed in the custody of the Clerk of the Faculties at all times for his discharge.

IV. That the Clerk of the Faculty do subscribe under every faculty the fee by him for that faculty received; that upright dealing may appear to all men.

V. That the Master of the Faculties do diligently examine the causes of the dispensations, with the qualities of the persons, whether they be true, just, and reasonable. And the same Master at two certain days, appointed by the Archbishop, to bring all petitions to the Archbishop to be viewed and assigned; and to insert in every dispensation these words, or the like, *Si petitio veritati nitatur*.

VI. That a great register, or cowcher, be kept by the Master of the Faculties, or such as the Archbishop shall appoint; wherein all dispensations sealed shall be *verbatim* recorded, with note of the day and time of the sealing thereof; making to the said book a fair table by alphabet, for the reader to search out any dispensation granted.

VII. That all bonds to be taken for the indemnity of the office be kept in the Archbishop's house, in the custody of such as he shall appoint: and these bonds to be sealed and delivered to the Master of the Faculties for the use of the Archbishop, before any instruments or dispensations be delivered to the party.

VIII. That all notaries shall be sworn to the oath, which shall be recorded in their instrument or faculty.

IX. That the Clerk for inserting the said oath may take 12*d*. and not above.

X. That neither Register nor Under-clerk exact, by the colour of expedition, any sums above the taxation, upon pain of the law.

301 XI. Without express assent of the Archbishop,

That no dispensation shall pass *pro minore*, under eighteen years at the least, with true certificate of his age, and that he be within Orders; and that his friends be bound that he shall be a Minister, or else, &c.:

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That *de non promovendo* be not granted to any man:
That the clause *de non residendo* be not granted:
The clause of permutation be granted to Graduates only:
The diet of twenty-six miles be not omitted:
Letters *dimissory* be granted only to those that are of the age of twenty-three or upwards.

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There was as yet no Latin Catechism printed for the use of schools; which seemed very necessary for the instructing of youth in sound principles of religion, especially of the gentry, and such as were designed for divinity; a thing seriously thought upon and debated ever since the Synod of 1562. But now in June this year, by the diligence of the Archbishop, such a Catechism came forth, dedicated, for the more countenance of it, to the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm. The author was a very learned man, *viz.* Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, London. It had passed through the review and correction of that Synod, and had their full approbation. The Dean sent the copy at first to Secretary Cecil, to whom he had dedicated it: and in his hands it lay till it was offered unto the Bishops assembled in the said Convocation, as men most meet to judge and allow or disallow of such matters. They allowed it, and so did the whole Lower House, who subscribed it; as Nowel himself writ in a letter to the said Secretary, when he sent him the Catechism printed: which copy so subscribed, Nowel kept in his own hands: but a draught of this Catechism that had thus passed the Houses of Convocation he sent to the Secretary, with whom it lodged about a year: and then it was delivered to him again by the Secretary; and withal, he gave him certain notes of some learned men upon it. After some time, the Archbishop called for it, the Dean having first altered many places in it, according to the said notes: so carefully and exactly was it reviewed and corrected, to make it a standing summary of the doctrines of this Church. The Archbishop, after this copy had remained a while with him, demanded of him why he did not put it in print. He answered his Grace, that without the Se-

A Latin Catechism comes forth.

Paper House.

The Archbishop calling for it.

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cretary's consent, to whom he had at first dedicated it, he would not do it. Whereupon, it seems, the Archbishop conferred with the Secretary, and moved him that so useful a thing to the Church might no longer lie in private papers. For he sent the Dean word, that his Honour had consented to the printing of it; and that it was to him no matter whether it were dedicated to the Bishops or him. And so the Archbishop allowing the publishing of it, by the subscription of his name, and the Archbishop of York, late Bishop of London, doing the like, it was printed by Reynold Wolf the 16th of the calends of July, (which answereth to our 16th of June,) 1570; and was dedicated unto the Bishops, because it was offered them seven years before in Convocation, and allowed by them all, as abovesaid.

As soon as it came forth, even the same day, the author sent it to the Secretary with his letter, and the very copy of the notes that the Secretary had delivered him, that he might, if he pleased, compare the printed copy and the notes together, and thence perceive how justly the printed book answered to them.

A shorter Catechism;

There wanted now nothing but a shorter Catechism for the use of the younger sort of scholars; which the Dean, in his epistle to the Bishops, promised to draw up, contracting this longer one. And thus the Church was at length furnished, by the Archbishop's furtherance and care, with this good and needful work.

Commonly used in schools.

This Catechism was printed again in the year 1572: and in Greek and Latin 1573; and so from time to time had many impressions; and was used a long time in all schools, even to our days: and pity it is, it is now so disused.

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CHAP. III. 302

The Archbishop at Canterbury; makes great feastings. The Bishop of Chichester consecrated. Visits his church. His Injunctions. Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, elects, confirmed. The Archbishop's good deeds this year. Mrs. Parker's death, and character. Her charitable legacy to Matsall parish. Controversy about the form and kind of the sacramental bread. The Archbishop writes to the Secretary hereupon; and concerning the crucifix in the Queen's chapel.

AND now our Archbishop goes into Kent. And on Ascension-day he preached himself before the Clergy and people in his metropolitical church. For he preached often as well in his cathedral, as in other parish churches of his diocese. And on the Whitsunday ensuing, and the two days following, he made noble feasting, in the hall of his palace, to the citizens of Canterbury and their wives, in the same manner as he had done before. And on Trinity Sunday following, at the same church, he consecrated Richard Courtis, that had been his Chaplain, Bishop of Chichester; and that freely and generously, without taking accustomed fees or benefits; either to shew his respect to him, having been his Chaplain, or because of his present indigence, or both. And thus he affected to renew an ancient right and custom; which was, for Bishops of the province to be consecrated there, at the metropolitical church.

Anno 1570. The Archbishop at Canterbury.

Feasting on Whitsunday. Matthæus.

A Bishop of Chichester consecrated there.

This see of Chichester had lain vacant now near two years; and the Archbishop had oft, like a vigilant overseer of that church, called upon those whom it concerned to have it filled. For Barlow, the last Bishop, died August 13, 1568; and the next day, Dr. Will. Overton, a Residentiary of the church, gave notice thereof to the Secretary; and added, "That it was now his part to provide them a good "Bishop to succeed, profitable to the Church, and neces-"sary to them that belonged to it; since every where all "was in a manner full of Papists and Papism. *Quo magis*

The filling that see long called for.

Dr. Overton. Paper Office.

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"(as he went on in his letter) *accuratè videndum, nequis nobis vel consilio imbecillior, vel animo inconstantior, vel etiam segnior industria, ex improviso obtrudatur*, i. e. "That therefore the greater care should be taken that "none be suddenly put upon them, who might be either "weak in judgment, or not steady in mind, or more "slack in pains-taking. That the Queen had store of ex-"cellent men. He advised she would make her choice of "some one out of many. And then proposing one, he "said he knew not whether any might be fitter for that "place than William Day, Provost of Eaton, noted among "all for learning and piety." [Whose brother once was Bishop there, but of quite another temper and persuasion to this.] But Curtess, as was shewed before, was the man now at last nominated for this vacancy, and made Bishop there.

Feasting again on Trinity Sunday. Matthæus.

On this Trinity Sunday, (whereon the said Curtess was consecrated,) the Archbishop made another most noble feast, which might justly be called *convivium archiepiscopale*, when an Archbishop of Canterbury invited an Archbishop of York to be his guest, *viz.* Grindal, who was come thither to be confirmed. And this feast he made on this day, in commemoration of King Henry VIII. who had reformed that church, that was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, excluding the monks thence. There were present, besides the said Archbishop elect of York; Horn, Bishop of Winchester; Ghest, Bishop of Rochester; and Curtes, aforesaid of Chichester. At the lower tables sat all the ministers and servants whatsoever, even the children, that belonged to that church, that they might remember the pious institution of the said King Henry. At the remotest tables, but in the same hall, in sight, sat the poor of both sexes of the hospitals of St. John's and Herbaldown; that by looking
303 on them, while they were feasting, these Archbishops and Bishops might in their present height remember the merciful God that had wrought great deliverances for them, and had brought them to that state, out of their former dangers

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and calamities, when they themselves were poor and distressed; as the pious Archbishop meant, by so placing them.

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On the next day, being Monday, in a great and honourable presence, was Archbishop Grindal aforesaid confirmed; and the Archbishop himself also inducted him into the possession of the see of York; the Bishops of Winchester and Rochester, in honour, present and assisting.

Archbishop of York confirmed.

The same year, July the 3d, he entered upon his ordinary visitation, and visited his church in person; the visitation the last year being, I suppose, adjourned and continued. This visitation began with the celebration of the prayers and holy Communion in the chapter-house by one of his Chaplains, the Dean and Clergy present. Which visitation he continued from day to day, until the 22d day of the same month. And then he gave forth to the Clergy and Laity of his diocese divers wholesome injunctions, necessary to be observed for several causes. And this was the last session of his visitation, though he prorogued it to the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin.

The Archbishop visits his church.

The particular method and manner of this visitation, how, first, to be entered upon, for the more regular and orderly proceeding, (as the Archbishop delighted to do all his matters in a grave and solemn decency,) was thus appointed:

The order to be observed in the visitation.

"First, That the service be done in the choir by eight "of the clock in the morning.

Park. Regist. p. 281.

"Secondly, That all they of the choir with the whole "foundation, after service done, stand in the body of the "church on either side of the middle aisle in due order; and "that the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers, do come to "the palace to wait upon my Lord's Grace to the church.

"*Item*, At the entry of my Lord's Grace into the "church, the choir to go up before him, singing some an-"them.

"*Item*, They being all placed in the choir shall sing the "Litany.

"*Item*, That being done, the grammarians and the choir

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"to go up into the presbytery, two and two in order; and "so on the back-side of the choir by Bishop Warham's "chapel into the chapter-house. The Archbishop, Dean, "Prebendaries, and Preachers, to meet them at the stairs' "head. And they only with the Archbishop's officers to "be *infra cancellos*. And there and then, before the begin-"ning of the sermon, to sing the hymn *Veni Creator*, and "in English. The Dean to say the Collect following for "grace, beginning, *Gratias agimus*, &c. in English.

"*Item*, These things being done, the preacher to pro-"ceed to the sermon. Which being done, all the extern "laity to be commanded out by the beadle.

"*Item*, The Dean or Vice-Dean to bring in his certificate. "And all they of the church being cited, to be called and "sworn, and monished to bring in their several present-"ments in writing in the afternoon between three and four "of the clock in the place aforesaid. And then the visita-"tion to be continued."

Injunctions. Park. Regist.

In this visitation, these were the Archbishop's Injunctions: "That Mr. Dean, Mr. Vice-Dean, and Mr. Trea-"surer, do make inventories of the vestry goods and other "church goods; and do make like inventories of all the "church plate, and other goods that remain in the Dean's "custody. And the inventory to be delivered to my Lord's "Grace. That the Vicars, Petty Canons, and Singing-"men do bring in particularly in writing, where and how "often every one of them have received the Communion "that year, ended Easter last past. That Mr. Rushe and "Mr. Hill [both Prebendaries] do examine how the scho-"lars of the grammar-school proceed; and to certify their "judgment thereof to my Lord. That Dr. Nevinson and "Mr. Commissary [two other Prebendaries] do examine "such of the Petty Canons, Vicars Choral, and Singing-"men, as be suspected in religion; and to certify my "Lord's Grace what they shall find therein. That Mr. "Dean, Mr. Vice-Dean, and Mr. Treasurer, do devise and
304 "order for the better husbanding the church store, and for "the better preservation of the church wood and timber;

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" and to certify the same device to my Lord's Grace. That " Mr. Hyde, the Chapter Clerk, do assist the Dean, Vice-" Dean, and Treasurer therein. That the Chanter, Master " of the Choristers, and Mr. Swift, [a Lesser Canon,] do " examine the skill in the singing of the Vicars, Singing-" men, and of the Chorists; and do certify my Lord. And " all this before Friday next."

At another day the Archbishop gave these Injunctions also for the church.

More Injunctions for the church. Park. Regist.

" I. That the view of convenient rooms for houses and " lodgings within the precinct of the church, be perfectly " certified unto the said most reverend Father before the " feast of All Saints next coming; to the end the same " may be executed with effect.

" II. That order be taken for the better and speedier " levying of the church debts and arrearages.

" III. That the Prebendaries do hereafter use more dili-" gence in often preaching.

" IV. That none being a Minister be admitted an almose " man of this church. And that Rob. Hood, being already " admitted, be not suffered to serve any cure after Mi-" chaelmas next coming.

" V. That such as shall claim dividends for the time of " their absence, as necessarily letted and absent, shall make " sufficient testimony before the Dean and Chapter of the " causes of their absence.

" VI. That the Prebendaries do foresee the inconveni-" ences of receiving of strangers to sojourn with them in " their houses.

" VII. That order be taken that the church and cloister " be no highway or passage for market folks.

" VIII. That before Michaelmas next the common gar-" den be cleansed and closed, and so from thenceforth to " be cleanly kept. And all burials to be utterly forbidden " to be made in the sanctuary.

" IX. That the common schools for the grammarians be " boarded within convenient time.

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"X. That every one of the church that hath any writ-
"ings or evidences of the same church, bring in the same
"to be reposed and kept in the accustomed place appointed
"for that purpose, before Michaelmas next.

"XI. That buying and selling of offices and rooms of
"the church be from henceforth looked unto, and the in-
"convenience thereof avoided.

"XII. That the Dean, calling unto him four of the
"eldest Prebendaries at home for the time, do cause all and
"singular houses and dwellings of the church to be bound-
"ed and butted. And to certify the same unto the most
"reverend Father distinctly in writing before Christmas
"next coming.

"XIII. That the orders to be taken by the Dean and
"Prebendaries for the preservation of the church woods,
"and better sparing of the store of the church, be certi-
"fied likewise to the said most reverend Father before
"Christmas next coming.

"XIV. That in the placing of scholars hereafter in the
"grammar-school, the Chorists in the said church, and others
"born in the diocese of Canterbury, be preferred.

"XV. That the Dean and Prebendaries do restore to
"the church such goods and ornaments, as they have of
"their private authority taken away from the said church.

"XVI. The Rectors to be monished, upon pain of re-
"moving from their offices, to shut the gates at such hours
"as by the statutes are limited. And so to keep them shut
"according to the said statute."

More Injunctions for the Dean and Canons. Fol. 283. b.

At another meeting, an order was taken for the appeasing certain controversies between the Prebendaries. There were also fourteen Injunctions more in Latin given to the Dean and Canons; which I pass over for brevity sake, and may be found in this Archbishop's register. But the last was this
305 Christian and grave admonition: *Quod superest, salem in vobis, et pacem habete inter vos. Diligitote invicem; ut ne sint in vobis dissensiones: vosmetipsos exercete ad pietatem, ut a vestro grege benè audiatis: hoc pro certo scientes, nos severissimè animadversuros in omnem hominem in dicta ec-*

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clesia rixas aut dissidia seminantem cujuscunque conditionis aut sexus fuerit.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1570. Regist. Park.

The six preachers of the cathedral church at this time were,

Richard Besely,	S. Th. B. B.	Robert Pownald, Clerk.
Edward Barker,		John Igleden, S. T. B.
Simon Clark,		William Wood, Clerk.

John Gressop, Schoolmaster.

Feasts the Judges.

On the eleventh of July, being assize-time, the Judges, the High Sheriff, the gentlemen, and the common sort, all dined with the Archbishop at a most liberal and splendid entertainment in his great hall, according as he had treated them some years before.

Confirms the Bishop elect of London.

On the Thursday after came Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, elect of London, to Canterbury, to visit the Archbishop, who received him with brotherly kindness and respect. And having stayed two days with him, on Saturday the said Bishop, after he was confirmed, took his leave and departed.

Removes to London.

Then the Archbishop removed, and came to London safe with his whole family, the first night lodging at Sittingbourn; and the day after dining at Gravesend: and so came safe to Lambeth that night in barges by Thames, with all his family.

A decree of the Archbishop concerning a contest among the Canons. Regist. Park.

There was one particular quarrel now among the Prebendaries, which the Archbishop by his authority took care to put an end to. Which was concerning a controversy and demand of Mr. Dr. Rushe, Mr. Willoughby, and Mr. King, the Queen's Majesty's Chaplains. The decree for the determination of which was made by the most reverend Father in God, July 24, and ran in this tenor: "Whereas "the said Mr. Rushe, Mr. Willoughby, and Mr. King, al- "leged, that during the time of their attendance as ordi- "nary Chaplains to the Queen's Highness, they are denied "their dividends of certain fines then taken for leases past "by the Dean and Prebendaries, being at home, and resi- "ant in the said church of Christ Church in Canterbury; "forasmuch as the statutes of the said church do account

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"such service a necessary impediment, and that the custom "is confessed, that any Canon in the same church being "necessarily letted, as by sickness, or other commandment "of superiors, ought to partake such dividends; the case "so being, we think it good reason that every of them, "making first oath, that they were at that time in their "said alleged service, be allowed their portions of the said "fines, according to the rate of the same."

His good deeds this year.

These were his good deeds and pains towards his church. To set down here also some other of his good works and well deservings this year. He repaired (for he was a great builder and a great repairer) the great hall at Lambeth house and covered it with shingles, and made the long bridge into the Thames near the palace. In the garden, where his predecessor Archbishop Cranmer had set up a very elegant and curious summerhouse of elaborate work, framed by the skill of Ponet his Chaplain, (afterwards Bishop of Winchester,) which summerhouse was now ruined by age; this the Archbishop repaired and restored to its ancient form and workmanship. And this year he made the Regent Walk, that leads from the west of St. Mary's Church in Cambridge to the public schools, paving it, and building a brick wall on each side. In a certain part of which wall, in my time, was the coat of arms of the Archbishop to be seen. Which walk was taken out of St. Mary's Ostle, where he once studied, when first admitted a Scholar in Cambridge, and after purchased of Bene't college, to which it had belonged.

Makes the Regent Walk in Cambridge.

306 The Archbishop granted a patent, dated July 12. to Dr. Thomas Yale, and John Parker the Archbishop's son, granting them the office of Keeper of the Prerogative Court, Cant. which was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, July 15, 1571. And John Parker, by articles of agreement between him and Dr. Yale, dated two months before, *viz.* May 2, 1571, did covenant, that Dr. Yale should solely execute all the office, and receive all the fees, paying to John Parker 40*l.* every quarter of a year.

The office of Keeper of the Prerogative Court confirmed on Yale and Parker.

August the 17th, the pious matron, Mrs. Parker, hav-

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The Bishop's wife dies.

Her commendations.

ing taken her leave of Canterbury, (her heart misgiving her she should never see it more,) about twelve at noon died of a fever, in the fifty-first year of her age, after the Archbishop and she had lived one and twenty years together, and upwards, in wedlock. The loss of her he took very heavily, she having been always a most faithful companion to him, with a conjugal love, both in his adversities and prosperities. Bishop Ridley coming to Cambridge upon the King's visitation, would visit Dr. Parker sometimes at Corpus Christi college, where he could not but take notice of Mrs. Parker's comely features; and withal with what becoming and prudent behaviour all her speeches and actions were comported. And at length was heard to ask the question, *Whether she had a sister like her:* either thereby congratulating Dr. Parker in such a wife, suggesting few of that sex to arrive to her qualifications, or as though he himself, notwithstanding his purpose of living in the single state, had been minded to change his resolution, if he might meet with such a woman as she was. The loss of all his possessions, preferments, and dignities, under Queen Mary, was made light and easy to him by the sweet society and conversation of this excellent woman. Her children she brought up both piously and liberally; insomuch that it was noted, how Papists themselves, who otherwise hated such as were Priests' children, yet had a great love and affection for them. It was somewhat extraordinary in her, that though she had children, which might have prompted her to have called upon her husband to be thrifty and sparing, yet whensoever he was minded to do any thing magnificently, beseeming his high place, (to which indeed he was propense by his nature, and often practised the same,) she would earnestly study to please him therein by her counsel and her pains; by contriving and consulting, and joining with him, that things might answer his generous inclinations. And in those most splendid and noble buildings and feastings of his before mentioned; neither was her will nor industry wanting in the ordering and managery thereof. Soon after her coming home from Canterbury to Lambeth, she was

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taken with a feverish distemper, which about this time prevailed much among the people. Her sickness she bore patiently and Christianly, and comforting herself with the sure and certain hopes of the resurrection and eternal life, she surrendered her soul cheerfully into the hands of God. She was buried in Lambeth church, in a chapel or dormitory there, called *the Duke's Chapel*, situated on the north side of the church. The legal inheritance of whose house (called the Duke of Norfolk's house) in the said parish, she had bought in her lifetime, by the permission of the Archbishop her husband. And so having a right of the house, she had also a right of burial in that chapel. Upon her tomb was written in golden letters, by the appointment of her husband, *Qui credit in me non morietur in æternum.*

Or roll in Biblioth. C. C. C. C.

Of her death thus did the Archbishop write in his memorial, *Hæc Margareta Ux. mihi charissima et castissima mecum vixit annos plus minus* 26. [a mistake of his pen, or the transcriber's, for 23.] *et obiit christianissimè*, 17. *Augusti, anno* 1570. *circa undecimam ante meridiem: et sepulta est in sacello Duc. Norfolciæ apud Lambhith.*

Her monument.

Where but lately (if not still) her grave-stone remained, being a plain stone, and about it written these words in Latin, *Hic jacet* MARGARITA *castissima et integerrima Conjunx quondam* MATTHÆI *Archiep. Cantuarien. Quæ obiit* XVII. *August. anno* 15—. The rest not legible.

Her legacy to the town where she was born.

This pious gentlewoman did, by her last will, shew her kindness to the parish where she and her father were born, *viz.* Mattishal in Norfolk, by leaving fifty shillings, to be paid yearly for ever; one chief part thereof for the use and relief of the poor of the said parish; another part for the
307 preaching of an anniversary sermon in the parish church to the people there; and a third part for a gratification of the Vicar, or some other that should teach school there. All which the Archbishop himself, after her death, saw performed and made good. By this charitable gift, regard was had to all ranks and degrees of persons in the town; that is, to the poor, to the youth, and in general to all the parishioners; for whom a pious and profitable discourse

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was provided, for them to hear once a year, as will appear more particularly by and by. Robert Harleston, Mrs. Parker's brother or kinsman, bound certain lands of his for the due payment of the foresaid gift. And an indenture tripartite was made, dated November 15. 11 Eliz. for the better confirmation of the same, between Robert Harleston of Mattishal, in the county of Norfolk, Yeoman, of the one part, Edward Watts, Andrew Denne, William Ricks, &c. parishioners of Mattishal, of the other part, and the Master of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, of the third part. Which witnessed, that whereas Robert Harleston, for and in performance of the will and requests of Margaret Parker, daughter to Robert Harleston, late of Mattishal aforesaid, made and devised in her lifetime, for the erecting and continuance of certain deeds of charity to be done and performed, to continue for ever in the said parish where she and her father were born; was seized in his demesne, as of fee-simple, of and in certain parcels of land lying in that parish; that is to say, one piece of land lying in Eastfield, containing by estimation two acres, and three other parcels of land, *viz.* two acres and half an acre, two acres, one acre, and one acre and half, (nine acres in all,) did give and grant, for himself and his heirs, unto Edward Watts, Andrew Denne, &c. one annuity, or yearly rent, of fifty shillings, to be taken yearly out of the said parcels of land, and their appertenances, at and upon the first day of May: to have, take, and enjoy, the said annuity for ever, to the uses and intents hereafter expressed: that is to say, that the said Edward, Andrew, &c. shall yearly pay, and distribute at such time as to the churchwardens of the church of Mattishal aforesaid, and the collectors of the poor, and in their default, unto the Vicar or Curate, shall seem convenient, to thirty of the poorest and most needy persons of the parish, thirty shillings; and to one Thomas Sparrow, and the poorest of his name and kindred after him for ever, five shillings of the same money. And to the preacher, which shall for the time make a sermon in manner as is hereafter expressed, eight shillings and four pence. And to the Vicar,

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BOOK IV. Anno 1570. Curate, or parish Clerk, which shall take pains to teach children, as hereafter shall be declared, six shillings and eight pence. But if none of them will take it upon them, then six shillings of the same to the most needy of the poor people aforesaid, and eight pence to the parish Clerk.

Which said payments the said parishioners covenanted and granted for them and their heirs, to the within Master and Fellows of the said college aforesaid. And they further covenanted with the said college, that if they, the Master and Fellows of the same, would yearly, on Tuesday and Wednesday in the Rogation-week, send one of the Preachers, Scholars, or Fellows of the said college, which were lawfully licensed to preach; and in the default of their sufficiency, one of Gunvil and Caius college; who should take in hand to entreat either of one or two petitions of the Lord's Prayer; or one or two of the Articles of the Faith; or one or two of the Ten Commandments; and thereupon make a sermon in the said church of Mattishal; in which sermon he should make some honest remembrance of the said Robert Harleston the father, and Margaret the daughter; and of the said distribution: then the said preacher should have eight shillings and four pence for his charges and pains. And in their defaults at the days aforesaid, then the said grantees, or their heirs or assigns, should, against Midsummer next following, provide a sufficient preacher, licensed, who should make a sermon in the said church, upon the same texts, and with the like remembrance: which said preacher should have the said eight shillings and four pence for that time only.

And the said Edward Watts, &c. further covenanted to and with the said Master and Fellows, that as long as the Vicar of the said parish of Mattishal should teach children, they should allow him six shillings and eight pence. And in his default, to the parish Clerk so teaching.

308 The said grantees, when there should be left but three or four alive of them, should by indenture tripartite, made between them, that so should survive of the one part, and the said Master and Fellows of the second part, and twelve

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others of the said parish of the third part, grant and assign the said rent or annuity to the said twelve others of the parish, and their heirs, to the same use as herein was expressed.

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Robert Harleston aforesaid wrote a letter, dated the 6th of April 1570, to John Parker, the Archbishop's son, declaring that he had done according to his Grace's desire, and sealed the indenture at the Vicar's house of Mattishal, a great number of the best of the parishioners, with the feoffees, present.

Harleston seals the indenture.

And not long after, the town of Mattishal, to shew their gratitude for this benefit granted to their parish, wrote a very humble letter of thanks to the Archbishop, which was to this tenor:

Parishioners of Mattishal's thankful letter to the Archbishop.

To the right reverend Father in God, my Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace, Metropolitan, and Primate of all England, the inhabitants and whole township of Mattishal [pray] for his long continuance in health, both of body and soul, to the glory of God, and comfort of the whole body of the Church and congregation of all good Christians.

MSS. D. Joh. Ep. Elien. N.

" WHEREAS it hath pleased your honourable Grace " tenderly to consider the poor estate and condition of the " inhabitants and township of Mattishal, with so free, so " honourable, so merciful, and charitable a gift, and deed " of charity, and alms, to the great glory, honour, and " praise of God, your Grace's honour and immortal fame, " the great comfort, succour, and relief, of your Grace's " said poor orators and daily intercessors, the whole body " and township of Mattishal; We, your Grace's said poor " orators, shall never be able worthily to express and de- " clare, with condign and worthy thanks, that so most " gracious, honourable, merciful, and charitable a fact; " whereby an immortal fame and praise shall redound to " your said Grace's honour, and a perpetual relief and suc- " cour to your said poor orators. Beseeching your Honour, " that the same may proceed and go forward, according to

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"this your Grace's good and charitable beginning. And "as we understand, that it is your Grace's pleasure to "know your said poor orators' minds concerning the same; "we certify your Grace's Honour, that we have such good "liking in the same, as we are not able, either in writing "or words, to express. But as it is our most bounden "duty, most humbly, most thankfully, and most entirely "beseech your Grace's Honour to accept these our simple "and rude letters in good part, according to your Grace's "accustomed goodness, whereunto part of us, in the name "of the whole, have subscribed, not only with our hands, "but also with our hearts: most fervently and instantly "praying the Almighty God for the long continuance of "your Grace's prosperous health, to the glory of God, and "the comfort of all your Grace's poor orators. From "Mattishal aforesaid, the 19th day of January, anno 1570.

"By your Grace's poor orators,

"Nicolas Cooke, Clerk, Vicar there. By me, John Allen.
"By me, John Wicks. By me, Edward Hall."

The form of the sacramental bread, various.

But now to pass to more public matters. There was now in the churches of the kingdom great variety used in the sacramental bread, as to the form of it. As in some (and they the most) the form of it was round, wafer-like: in some the form was otherwise, as ordinary bread: though the wafer-form of the bread to be used in the Communion had been before agreed upon, upon good deliberation, between the Archbishop and the Bishop of London; yet this order about the bread would not prevail to bring in an uniformity
309 therein. The tidings of this variety came new to the Court, and gave great offence. Of this the Secretary informed the Archbishop, and withal desired him to certify him of what form it was agreed the bread should be. The Archbishop, in satisfaction to the Secretary, gave him this answer.

The Archbishop to the Secretary thereupon. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"As you desire, I send you here the form of the bread "used, and was so appointed by order of my late Lord of "London [now elect of York] and myself, as we took it, "not disagreeable to the Injunctions. And how so many

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"Churches have of late varied, I cannot tell; except it be "the practice of the common adversary, the Devil, to make "variance and dissension in the sacrament of unity. For "where we be in one uniform doctrine of the same, and so "cut off much matter of variance, which the Lutherans "and Zwinglians do hatefully maintain; yet because we "will have some matter of dissension, we will quarrel in a "small circumstance of the same: neither regarding God "in his word, who earnestly driveth us to charity, neither "regarding the love and subjection we should bear to our "Prince, who zealously would wish the devout administra-"tion of the Sacrament; nor yet consider what comfort we "might receive ourselves in the said Sacrament, if dissen-"sion were not so great with us. Sir, I pray help to pacify "it, whether by proclamation, or by any other way; as in "wisdom of government, you see, sometimes things must "be forced or remitted."

Controversy about the kind of bread.

And as there was this stir at this time about the form of the bread, so there was not long before as great about the kind of it, whether wafer bread, or loaf, or common bread. The Archbishop had appointed it to be wafer bread; and so he enjoined it in his Injunctions to his Clergy. And it was generally so used; though some would rather make use of the loaf bread; which did not please the Archbishop: and of the same mind seemed the Secretary to be, the particular sort of bread not being prescribed by the rubric. And even in the Court they were come to the usual bread. The Archbishop was pretty indifferent which bread soever it were, and was ready to follow orders that should be sent him thereabout. But he thought it might breed some disturbance, seeing the other, that is, the wafer bread, was already appointed. But this matter occasioned this letter to the Secretary, written either this, or perhaps the last year.

"Sir,

The Archbishop to the Secretary hereupon. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"Where, upon the return of my Lord of London "from the Court, we had communication of the common "bread; and he seeming to signify to me, that your Ho-

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"nour did not know of any rule passed by law in the Com-
"munion Book, but that it may be such bread as is usually
"eaten at the table with other meals, &c. I thought it good
"to put you in remembrance, and to move your consider-
"ation in the same. For it is a matter of much contention
"in the realm, where most part of Protestants think it
"most meet to be in wafer bread, as the Injunction pre-
"scribes. Divers others, I cannot tell of what spirit, would
"have the loaf bread. And hereupon one time at a sessions
"would one Master Fogg have indicted a Priest for using
"wafer bread, and me indirectly for charging the wafer
"bread by Injunction: where the Judges were Mr.
"Southcotts and Mr. Gerrard, who were greatly astonish-
"ed at the exhibiting of the book. And I being then in
"the country, they counselled with me, and I made reasons
"to have the Injunctions prevail.

"First, I said, as her Highness talked with me once or
"twice in that point, and signified, that there was one *pro-*
"*viso* in the Act of the Uniformity of the Common Prayer,
"that by law is granted unto her, that if there be any con-
"tempt or irreverence used in the ceremonies or rites of
"the Church, by the order appointed in the book, the
"Queen's Majesty may, by the advice of her Commission-
"ers, or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ce-
"remonies, or rites, as may be most for the reverence of
"Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments. And but for
"which law, her Highness would not have agreed to divers
"orders of the book. And by virtue of which law she
310 "published further orders in her Injunctions, both for the
"Communion bread, and for the placing of the tables with-
"in the choir. They that like not the Injunctions, force
"much the statute in the book. I tell them that they do ill
"to make odious comparisons betwixt statute and injunc-
"tions. And yet I say and hold, that the Injunction hath
"authority by *proviso* of the statute. And whereas it is
"said in the rule, that to take away the superstition which
"any person hath, or might have, in the bread and wine,
"it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usually to be

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"eaten at the table with other meats, &c. it shall suffice "I expound, where either there wanteth such fine bread, "or superstition be feared in the wafer bread, they may "have the Communion in usual bread; which is rather "a toleration in these two necessities, than a plain ordering, "as is in the Injunction.

"This I say, to shew you the ground which hath moved "me and others to have it in the wafer bread. A matter "not greatly material, but only obeying the Queen's High-"ness; and for that the most part of her subjects disliketh "the common bread for the Sacrament. And therefore, as "her Highness and you shall determine, I can soon alter "my order; although now quietly received in my diocese; "and I think would breed some variance to alter it. I hear "that in the Court you be come to the usual bread. The "great disquiet babbling, that the realm is in in this matter, "maketh me thus long to babble, and would be loath, that "now your saying or judgment should be so taken, as ye "saw a law that should prejudice the Injunction.

"Sir, I thank your Honour for your prudent secresy, "that you did use toward that party that laboureth to "know who did write letters to the Queen, to signify "such innovation. He saith, he is promised to know, &c. "it would breed but unkindness. And therefore I left "him in his suspense; as in my last long letter, I would I "had spared one word written, which might work unkind-"ness, but that, I say, your wisdom will rather make cha-"rity, than break it."

But besides this, there was another matter created some trouble to the Archbishop, namely, this that follows.

The crucifix now brought into the Queen's chapel.

The *crucifix*, which had been before removed out of the Queen's chapel, was now of late brought in again; which gave great disgust among the people, and caused much discourse. And this was presently laid to the charge of the Archbishop, as though he had been the Queen's counsellor herein. Which report was made, it seems, by some noblemen. Though the good Prelate, but some years before, had

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earnestly, with some other Bishops, persuaded her Majesty not to allow that image in her chapel. By which means it seems to have been then removed thence. This report coming to his ears, he writ thus to the Secretary, complaining, "That any nobleman in England should impute it to "his doing, that the cross was brought into the chapel "again. So that I perceive (saith he) they will load me "with envy. But certainly I never knew of it: nor yet, in "good faith, I think it expedient it should be restored. "And therefore I think, *Est modus in rebus:* not so much "to exasperate men's hearts, [as this crucifix set up again in "the chapel did, and was, as he thought, a step too far, and "beyond the *modus*."]

Disorders in the cathedral of Norwich come before the Archbishop.

A great disturbance happened in the month of September, in the cathedral church of Norwich. Which being our Archbishop's native place, he had the more regard, and took more care to redress things amiss there. In this church (the Bishop, as it was thought, rather winking at it, than being ignorant of it) were certain innovations attempted, contrary to the laws and orders established in the Church. And further, certain of the Prebendaries themselves, and others with them, *viz.* Dr. Walker, Dr. Gardiner, Fowle, Chapman, entered into the choir of the said church, and brake down the organs, with other outrages. The Bishop was severely taxed for suffering this, (the Dean being now absent,) without taking some notable punishment upon the offenders, and not reforming those disorders. This occasioned the Queen to write a letter to the said Bishop, dated September 25, reproving him, and "requiring him speedi-"ly to inquire hereof; and whom he should find that "had in any of the rites of the Church, as in the ministra-
311 "tion of either of the sacraments or other ceremonies, used "any innovation, by making alterations from the orders "prescribed and established by the statutes and ordinances "of the realm, or explained by the Queen's *injunctions*, or "that had committed the foresaid disorders, in breaking "down the organs; to call them before him; and both by "bond and injunction, in her Majesty's name, upon pain of

Paper Office.

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"deprivation of all their livings ecclesiastical, to charge and "command them to appear before the Archbishop of Can-"terbury, the Metropolitan. And that he, the said Bishop, "should send to him all such matters as any ways he should "have, by inquisition, to charge them withal: and to send "to him also the copies of the Queen's letters, whereby he "might perceive how her pleasure was to have such lewd "disordered attempts to be punished and reformed. She "added, that she did the rather commit this fact to be or-"dered by the said Archbishop, than by himself, because "she had heard heretofore, that he, the Bishop, had been "very remiss in observation of the orders of the Church "on his part; and especially, not careful in preferring to "offices under him, men meet for gravity, learning, and "dexterity in government. And so, in conclusion, she ad-"monished him to be the more circumspect and careful in "examination of the premises, as he minded that she should "conceive well of him."

Here was another care fallen upon our Archbishop; which he also willingly took upon him, both for the discharge of his public office in the Church, as also for the private and nearer concern he had for his beloved city of Norwich.

CHAP. IV.

New statutes for the University of Cambridge. Novelty there. Cartwright's new discipline. The Archbishop's thoughts of it. His letter to the Queen concerning the state of the Clergy and University. Sued in the Exchequer for felling wood in Long Beach Wood. Writes to the Queen concerning his right there. Consecrates Cooper Bishop of Lincoln; his great character; and Bradbridge, Bishop of Exeter. Dr. Cradock. Dr. Yale, the Archbishop's Chancellor, his Collections.

A draught of new statutes for Cambridge.

ABOUT November, Dr. May, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Whitgift, and other Heads of the University of Cambridge, obtained of their Chancellor a body of new statutes for the

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University; having found the old ones defective, and not forcible enough to restrain the younger sort there, who now ran upon novelties, and made great disturbances in the colleges, for the alteration of the government of the Church: the chief patron whereof was Thomas Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity college, and now lately chosen the Lady Margaret Professor. Dr. Whitgift had been some months before with Secretary Cecil, the Chancellor of that University; and took occasion to acquaint him with certain things in the statutes and orders of the University, fit to be reformed; and of other things necessary to be added, for the better government of the same. Concerning which, the Chancellor willed him at that time to confer with other Heads; and then to draw out a draught of the same, as they should agree upon, that he might see them. Upon this, at his return to Cambridge, he, with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Pern, Dr. Hawford, Dr. Harvey, and Dr. Ithel, laboured therein: and having finished them, they moved the Chancellor, that considering his other weighty business of state, he would send his letters to the Archbishop, or
312 some other, whom he pleased, to take the pains to look them over carefully, and make report unto him thereof: and they hoped they would be found very necessary and profitable for the state of the University, and the good government of the same.

Reviewed by the Archbishop.

The Archbishop was the fittest man in the realm to have the inspection of them, who had so much and long experience of University matters and manners. This request was made in August, and in a quarter of a year after, the new statutes were allowed and confirmed by the Chancellor: for which Dr. Whitgift, then his Vice-Chancellor, and the rest of the Heads, by an epistle signed with all their hands, returned him their thanks: "acknowledging his singular "goodness to them in general, and particularly for their "last statutes: which, by that little and short experience "they had of them, (they said,) they had proved to be ne-"cessary." Nevertheless, the younger sort did much murmur and grudge at them, which had restrained their liber-

Nov. 7.

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ties, of which they made but an ill use before. So that without these new laws, the governors would hardly have been able to have kept the University in good order; the stomachs of some (as they told the Chancellor in their said letter) were so great, and the common sort so inclined to novelties and contentious dealings.

Cartwright's lectures;

For I find this year great struggling and striving in Cambridge about *discipline*, as they called it: which Cartwright did teach a model of, and boldly and zealously urged it in his public lectures; condemning the present ecclesiastical constitution of the Church of England. Dr. May, the Vice-Chancellor, did inform the Chancellor of him, according to his duty: and so did Dr. Chaderton, who had been the Lady Margaret Professor before him: shewing the Chancellor particularly, that Cartwright had taught, that "in the Church of England there was no law-"ful and ordinary calling of Ministers, nor any ministry:" and, that "the election of Ministers and Bishops at this "day was tyrannous;" and, that "Archbishops, Deans, "and Archdeacons, were but offices and names of impiety." He added, that he doubted not, but that other godly and wise men, that tendered the state of the commonwealth, Church, and University, had written unto his Honour hereof. And that he that carried his letter, *viz.* Mr. Ramsden, [Chaplain to the Secretary, if I mistake not,] a learned and godly man, could let him understand of the doings of Cartwright and others, as Chapman of Trinity college, and some adherents to him; who had disputed and preached hotly about these matters; and the common bruit in Cambridge, touching these irregularities; and that their minds were to overturn and overthrow all ecclesiastical and civil governance that now was; and to ordain and institute a new fond policy.

And tenets.

His letter to the Chancellor.

Cartwright was not wanting to write also to the said Chancellor in his own behalf. In the month of August, he told him in a letter, that he stood up only for *discipline*, which, he said, he recommended to him, the Chancellor. And that *discipline* was not only in England, but in foreign

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nations accompanied with the daily prayers of pious men. That he, in the speech of some men, was suspected νεοτεροποιΐας, [*i. e.* of affecting new things,] but that which some suspected of *novelty*, was the most ancient, and that began with the Churches of Christ and his Apostles. He assured the Chancellor that he was no νεοτεροποιὸς, [*i. e.* practiser of novelty,] and yet he would not be affrighted from the truth by the envy of novelty. This was the sum of his letter. But the Vice-Chancellor not long after inhibited him to read his lectures; and a little after he was deprived.

Danger apprehended from the novelists. January 21.

This sort of men, which the Archbishop styled *Precisians*, were come to that pass at this time, that danger was apprehended from them; and that the Queen should be forced to restrain them with the sword of justice. For they held disobedience to governors in things indifferent. Which caused a letter of more concern than ordinary from the Archbishop to the Secretary, his constant correspondent, with whom he used freely to communicate his careful thoughts, and to consult in the affairs of the Church and religion. The Queen and the Secretary had signified to him, that they would willingly have heard a set discourse from some of this party upon this question, *An principibus*

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sit potius resistendum quam obediendum in rebus adiaphoris. But the Archbishop in his said letter, writ in January, answered, that this argument he was informed these busy men declined, in some public disputation or challenge made, as it seems, by them, and that no such matter was applied: telling the Secretary farther in Latin, "That he "feared they nourished some monster, and dealt in pre-"tended fair appearances." And he doubted, because they loved more the glory of men than the glory of God, they feared the people. For they would not openly speak of it [*i. e.* that question of obeying magistrates in things indifferent] for fear of the Jews; and by reason of the Pharisees, they did not confess, &c. He added, if this matter were thus begun, and slyly with a flourish passed over, [he seems to mean, in giving satisfaction to the government of obedience in indifferent things,] he thought it would breed

The Archbishop signifies as much to the Secretary. Paper Office. Quod aliquid monstri alunt, et fucis res agunt, &c.

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that inconvenience, that Mr. Mullins [Archdeacon of London, as it seems, in his visitation] should openly tell the *Precisians*, as he the Archbishop was informed, "That her "Highness's sword should be compelled to cut off this stub-"born multitude, which daily grew."

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He writes to one of them.

Upon the Secretary's motion, the Archbishop wrote to some leading person of this party, [Cartwright I suppose,] to moderate him, and persuade him by his grave and fatherly admonitions to forbear stirring any longer these coals of contentions, which were like to make such breaches of peace in this godly reformed Church. This the Archbishop did, but with little or no success. And how this man listened to him, the Archbishop expressed it thus to the Secretary: "You can tell how well he followed your "counsel or mine. But surely, Sir, (as he concluded,) it is "a matter of great importance. And so I leave the contem-"plation thereof to your wisdom."

Some of these put up for Lent sermons.

Some of this sort (by the interest it seems of some of their friends at Court) were put up to preach the ensuing Lent before the Queen. But the Secretary doubted some of them would fail. The Archbishop desired the Secretary to return their names to him: saying, that he trusted what one would not, another would; meaning to provide for any failure of such, by other and better men. And he reckoned to have some reflections made upon him in their sermons before her Majesty: such freedom, it seems, did they take in their sermons.

He writes to the Queen of these matters.

The pensive thoughts of these differences, and his compassion for the low and poor estate of the Clergy, and likewise the slanders and ill-will he underwent for opposing these novelists, made him privately apply himself in a letter to the Queen: wherein he thus lamented himself and the present condition of the Church:

Paper House.

"Whether in this place, wherein your Highness hath "set me, (more lamenting mine unworthiness, than re-"joicing in the solemnity thereof,) I have had too much of "worldly joy, God knoweth; bearing yet all manner of

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BOOK IV. Anno 1570.

"griefs and obloquies for doing justice and your command-
"ment, with very good-will. At which place some learned,
"some of other private respects, do so much bear at, that
"they conclude plainly in doctrine, and hold in affec-
"tion, *Quòd Archiepiscoporum nomina, simul cum muneri-
"bus suis et officiis, sunt abolenda.* [*i. e.* That the names
"of Archbishops, together with their places and offices, are
"to be abolished.] Which practice, when they have brought
"about, (as in your Majesty's time of your gracious con-
"sideration, I doubt not of,) that this room should be
"either too low abased, or quite abolished, I think your
"Highness's Council should have too much ado, besides
"their other great affairs, in staying of the unruliness of
"some part of the Ministers of religion, and in some others
"of the laity for their insolent living, and withstanding
"the insatiableness of many patrons in giving of their be-
"nefices in these times; considering the wonderful impo-
"verishment of the most of the Clergy, partly by the great
"and interminable exactions of these arrearages for tenths
"and subsidies; many paid afore by their predecessors,
"and yet called for again, even from your father's days. I
"see them in such extreme poverty, that of pure conscience
"I am driven to forbear of my ancient rights, to ease them
"of their burdens, for the better maintenance of Christ's
"holy religion; which, as it may be choaked overmuch
314 "in unconscionable men's hands, so it will fall to ground
"among beggars; which shall set their whole care and
"force of mind, not to study, but to live; which at this
"day experience sheweth. As in your University of Cam-
"bridge, not two men in the whole able or willing to read
"the Lady Margaret Lecture; although preachers they
"have many; but I fear divers of small consideration, [for
"solid learning, he meant, in divinity.]

"Thus praying your Majesty at the reverence of God
"patiently to hear these words of your poor Priest and
"well meaning Chaplain, referring altogether to your
"Grace's contemplation, as I see how Almighty God
"worketh in your heart, far above much wisdom of the

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"world. Whose Majesty in you thus oftentimes appearing, "I do reverence with lowly humility, referring all to your "divine prudence: how, in what, and when your Highness "will have me obedient, *secundum Deum et Jesum Christum Servatorem nostrum.* To whose fatherly protection "I will never cease in prayer to recommend your Majesty. "From Lambhith, the 27th of December.

"Your Majesty's most bounden orator,

"Matthue Cantuar."

The Archbishop sued in the Exchequer for felling the Queen's wood;

This conclusion of the Archbishop's, of referring himself to the Queen, hath relation to an unhappy suit commenced against him in the Exchequer, for his felling of some timber in Long Beach Wood in Westwell: which yet was no more than what had been customary for the Archbishops of Canterbury, his predecessors, to do. But some belike had informed, that he had made havoc of the woods for his own private benefit; and that indeed they belonged to the Crown: so that he was summoned to shew his title.

But he was in quiet possession.

Before this matter came to an hearing, the Archbishop conferred with the Secretary by letter, concerning this ticklish matter; saying, he knew not how the Queen was informed thereof; but that he had been in quiet possession: howsoever he was called into Court to answer for his right. His counsel told him, it was most certain. He added, that he never otherwise purposed, but by the help of that wood, to finish the ruins of Canterbury palace, and to have restored the chancel of Westwell, in great decay; and that some of the Queen's officers was privy to this his purpose. That he made offer to Mr. Attorney, a good while ago, for a pacification of this controversy; wherein some grudge was taken by the oft and vain resorting of the quest out of Kent, in this cause. Thus he writ to the Secretary in January, a little before the term, when the quest was appointed to come up again.

Refers himself to the Queen.

But the Queen was misinformed concerning the Archbishop's doings and right. So he shewed his title by his learned counsel. But having no mind to contend further

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BOOK IV.

with the Queen, (he found it too hard for him so to do,) he was resolved to refer himself wholly to her. And so he did in a private letter; wherein he cleared himself, by explaining to her what he had done; and withal took this occasion to speak his mind freely to her, in other matters that concerned him and his estate, and hers too; and how she was imposed upon sometimes in drawing away from the Church. The letter deserveth to be read; it was to this tenor:

Anno 1570.

He writes to the Queen in excuse of himself.

"Most humbly submitting myself to your excellent Ma-
"jesty, I crave your pardon of this my boldness, praying
"your Highness not to be offended with my plainness
"herein uttered; which I open in most secretwise to your-
"self, in conscience to Almighty God: to whose sacred
"Majesty, at his fearful and reverent judgment, we all
"shall once stand. The insufficiency of my speech, the
"weakness of my mind have hitherto stayed me, not
"in person to say so much; partly in consideration of
"mine own unworthiness, and partly in fear of displeasure,
"whereinto willingly and wittingly I would not fall, to win
"the whole realm. I have very seldom purged myself to
"your Highness of whatsoever information hath been
315 "made; referring mine innocency to Almighty God, and
"to your good nature and credit, wherein I have reposed
"myself quietly.

"I have been informed, that some unkindness might
"have been thought in me, for that my learned counsel
"hath by commandment opened before your Highness,
"what could be alleged for the title of that unlucky wood
"of Long Beach. O Madam, I never meant to shew any
"wilfulness or ingratitude to your Highness, of whom I
"have received all that I have, as God knoweth my heart.
"I was called into your Court of Exchequer, (after three
"or four years quiet possession, serving the country there
"with wood of the fall of 40*l.* or 50*l.* by year, as hath been
"used by my predecessors,) to answer by what title I have
"holden the same. I never meant, as God knoweth my
"conscience, to make havoc thereof, to improve it to the

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"benefit either of wife or children, (yet it hath been so "judged,) but to reserve and to restore it again to the dis- "position of the Crown; or in extreme necessity, for ca- "sualty of fire falling on some one of my houses, to use "somewhat for the re-edifying, as certain of your officers "hath known my purpose. The truth is, your Highness "may be, I fear, compassed therein. As once I saw the "likelihood. It pleased Sir Richard Sackvile, when I was "at my first coming in Kent, to come to me, as to visit "me: he moved to communication. And I, as an unexpert "man, prayed him to be a means to your Highness, that I "might be your farmer and tenant in rent to the house of "Charing, sometime my predecessor's, being decayed and "very ruinous; which I would have repaired, and be- "ing as it were in the midst of the diocese, I would some- "times have dwelt there; to the stay and comfort, I trust, "of that stout people of that country; as at this day, God "be praised, the whole shire is both quiet, reverent, and "obedient, and in conscience ready to serve, both in body "and goods; and I trust will so continue. He upon the dis- "closing of my desire, (to prevent me,) sued to your High- "ness for the lease thereof to himself; and charged your "Highness with some reparations, and intending, as I was "credibly informed, in this wood, being very nigh to that "house of Charing, to erect up certain iron mills. Which "plague, if it shall come into that country, I fear it will "breed much grudge and desolation. To the avoidance "whereof, my friends and learned counsel advised me to "shew mine interest, being called thereto. Not minding, "by this my speech, most Gracious Lady, to gainsay your "pleasure or title, either in this or in any thing that your "Highness hath given me: whereof I answer the fruits, "the tenths and subsidies. Which came to my see, as they "informed me, by several values; and being no member "of the manor of Westwell, which is of the rent of 20*l.* by "year; now in this late exchange, (among other things of "the sum of one thousand pounds,) recompensed in a rec- "tory of 20*l.* by year.

Sir Rich. Sackvile.

Charing.

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"And whereas your Majesty may be informed, that this "late exchange is but penny for penny, some wise men "think, that of four or five hundred mark, which might be "increased, your revenues are not augmented so many "shillings. Although now I hear, that by the lease that "may be of this wood, a better rent is advanced to the "Crown: which yet, if it had pleased you, might have "been much more to your possessions beneficial, if it had "been so sought: except your Highness meaneth of your "princely liberality, this way to advance the service of "some other of your subjects so beneficially. Whereunto "I am ready to submit myself in all that I have, in any "title whatsoever: protesting here before your Highness, "knowing your pleasure, myself, and all I have, to be at "your commandment: to tarry, or to forego the vocation "your Highness hath called me unto. Better content for "myself to live with the tenth part, than with that whole, "if it may be to the glory of God, and to the honour and "quiet governance of your realms."

By this it appears the Archbishop was fain to relinquish his right, whatsoever it was, to those woods: and it is to be suspected, this hardship happened to him, because of some courtier who was to be gratified by the lease of it.

316 But I must add, that this was gained back again to the see by Archbishop Whitgift, soon after his advancement thither; now (while in great favour and countenance) he attempted the recovery of it. A great and seasonable service it was to the Archbishopric. For this wood contained above a thousand acres of land; and had been detained a great while by Sir James Crofts, Knight, Comptroller of her Majesty's household, being farmer thereof to her; as we are told by Sir George Paul, the said Archbishop's Comptroller.

Long Beach Wood gained back to the see.

Life of Whitgift by Sir G. Paul, p. 38.

The Archbishop this year conferred another favour upon his son, John Parker, Esq. February 25: which was the advowson of the parsonage of Hollingborn.

An advowson given to his son.

Nicholas Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln, being translated to Worcester, and confirmed Jan. 26, by the Archbishop;

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CHAP. IV.

Anno 1570.

Cooper made Bishop of Lincoln.

His character.

Thomas Cooper, Dean of Christ's Church, Oxon, a learned and well deserving man of the Church, was, February the 24th, consecrated Bishop of the said see of Lincoln. And in the year 1572, the Archbishop granted him a dispensation to hold his prebend of Buckden. He was first schoolmaster of Magdalen college, Oxon, and for a good while, but of mean circumstances and slender fortune. But because of his excellent knowledge in the Latin tongue, and in all human arts, he became highly valued, beloved, and commended of all learned men. And by reason of his fame, he was at length known to the Queen. He was first preferred to be Dean of Christ's Church, Oxon, and of the church of Gloucester. Then the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of that University, deputed Dr. Cooper, his Vice-Chancellor; and by his most prudent management of that place extirpated the Popish faction, that had lurked a great while in that University, and excited many to the study of divinity. The lazy and slothful scholars, and such as were given to intemperance, he banished and expelled the University; and having taken upon him the ministry, he shewed diligence, eloquence, and great knowledge, in declaring and setting forth the word of God.

Bradbridge Bishop of Exeter.

March the 18th, William Bradbridge, D. D. Dean of Sarum, was consecrated by our Archbishop, Bishop of Exeter.

Dr. Cradock preferred.

The Archbishop took now into his care an eminently learned man of Oxford, and that had been a member of the Synod, anno 1562, *viz.* Edward Cradock, D. D. who April 7. was collated by the Archbishop into St. Mary Aldermary church, London. And Aug. 4. was admitted to be one of the Preachers in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

Others preferred this year. Reg. Park.

These persons besides were this year preferred by the Archbishop, *viz.* May the 4th, John Wolton, Clerk, was admitted to the vicarage of Brauncton, in the diocese of Exon, who was afterwards Bishop of that see. August the 20th, Thomas Watts, D. D. was admitted to the parochial church of Bocking, in Essex. October the 10th, George Joy was admitted to St. Peter's, Sandwich. October the

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BOOK IV. 13th, John Bullingham, D. D. was admitted to a prebend in the church of Wigorn. He was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

Anno 1570.

Dr. Yale's Collections.

Dr. Thomas Yale, our Archbishop's Chancellor, was a great reader, and a great collector out of ancient records and registers. In a volume belonging to the Cotton library, there be vast excerptions gathered by him out of the registers of the Archbishops of Canterbury; which he might be put upon searching by Archbishop Parker, for the finding out ancient customs, privileges, orders, and injunctions; for the better informing and enlightening of his Grace in the present dispensation of his office, and probably too, in order to the writing his Antiquities. The like historical collections did Joscelin his Secretary make. There be extracts out of the registers of Reinolds, Islip, Peckham, Courtney, Arundel, &c. I place this notice under this year, because the date of the year 1570. is set to these collections; (not that he died this year, for I find him alive three years after.) They are entitled, *Collecta ex Registro Archiepiscorum Cantuar. in custodia principalis Registrar. notatu digna, per Tho. Yale, LL. Doctorem, Cancellarium Matth. Archiep.* I have made some collections out of these Collections, which may be read, if the reader is pleased with such antiquities, in the Appendix.

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Bishop Jewell dies; whom the Archbishop had made his Commissary for Bristol. Appoints other Commissaries for that diocese. A Convocation. Matters done there. The Bishop of Gloucester excommunicated; and absolved. The Thirty-nine Articles subscribed; and enjoined anew; The Archbishop's MS. of them considered. A book of Canons of Discipline. The Archbishop of York's thoughts of it. Preachers' licences called in. A bill in Parliament for ecclesiastical laws. Protestation to be taken by Papists; and by Puritans. The Queen's command to the Archbishop for restraining them.

THE diocese of Bristol being vacant, the Archbishop gave a commission to John, Bishop of Sarum, to be Keeper of the spiritualty, and his Commissary General for that diocese, dated May 18, 1571. But this excellent Bishop lived but three or four months after, dying September 23, in a certain village in Wilts, called Moncton Farly, being aged fifty, and was buried at Salisbury. The death of one so very dear to the Archbishop was extremely afflictive to him. He had a brother John, to whom he made bequests, and to other friends. But he bequeathed his estate chiefly for the maintenance of students. Dr. Laurence Humfrey, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was sent to, to preach at his funeral; but this being a plague year, Humfrey was removed from the University, so that the messenger that came to Oxford could not find him, to deliver the message. But Giles Laurence, another learned man, did the office. And in the afternoon preached William Holcot, a gentleman of good quality, living not of the Church, but of his own estate, and who preached the Gospel *gratis;* but, I suppose, in Orders. His loss was greatly resented abroad, where he had formerly lived, and his learning and zeal well known. And Gualter, that great light of Zurich, lamenting his death in an epistle to certain English Bishops, had these

Anno 1571. The Bishop of Sarum dies.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1571.

Præfat. ad Hom. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth.

words; "That they esteemed it a wound not given to Eng-
"land alone, but to the whole Church of Christ, of which
"he was a notable luminary: that now his blessed spirit
"lived with the Lord Christ, to whose service he had
"wholly consecrated himself; and here on earth he left a
"dear want of him, and an immortal reputation to his
"name."

The Archbishop and the Bishop of London, knowing the eloquence of Dr. Laurence Humfrey's Latin pen, sent to him to Oxon, recommending the writing of Jewell's Life to him; who finished and published it anno 1573, and dedicated his work to those two venerable Prelates. It bore this title, *Joannis Juelli Angli Episcopi Sarisburiensis Vita et Mors; ejusque veræ Doctrinæ Defensio: cum refutatione quorundam objectorum, Thomæ Hardingi, Nicol. Sanderi, Alani Copi, Hieronymi Osorii Lusitani, Pontaci Burdegalensis.* To which are subjoined at the end many copies of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verses in Jewell's commendations, composed by the most eminent men, as Dr. Wylson, Master of the Request; Wolley, the Queen's Secretary for the French tongue; Bickley, Westphaling, Toby Matthew, afterwards Bishops; and many other learned men of this and other nations.

Commissary for Bristol.

Soon after Jewell's death, the Archbishop sent a commission, dated September 29, to Dr. Cottrell, Archdeacon of Dorset, to be Commissary for Bristol. And November 21, the Archbishop issued another commission for Bristol to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Yet was Cheny, Bishop of Gloucester, and sometime Commendatory of Bristol, alive all this while, not dying till 1578; hitherto, I suppose, enjoying the revenue of this bishopric, but now entrusted with the cure of it no longer. The *commendam* he had not obtained till 1563 or 1564. For in May 1563, the Archbishop granted a commission to Dr. Cottrell to be
318 his Commissary and Delegate for this diocese, who continued so some time. Matters relating to this Bishop were touched before under the years 1562 and 1568.

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CHAP. V.

Anno 1571.

A Convocation.

Extract of Synods penes Rev. F. Atterbury, Dean of Carliol.

This year, about the beginning of it, was a Convocation of the Clergy of the province of Canterbury convented at St. Paul's, London; the first session whereof was April the 3d. When the Archbishop landed at Black Friars, and then took horse, by reason, as it seems, of his inability to walk on foot, and so rode to the said church, attended, as was customary, by the Doctors, Advocates, and the rest of the Civilians, of Doctors Commons. He was met in the way by Edwin, Lord Bishop of London; and at the south door by the Dean and Prebendaries in their surplices and habits. The Litany and hymn of *Veni Creator* being sung, Dr. Whitgift made a Latin sermon to the venerable auditory, taking for his text, *Apostoli et Presbyteri convenerunt*, &c. *i. e.* "The Apostles and Elders came together for "to consider of this matter," Acts xv. 6. Where the learned man aptly discoursed of the institution of Synods; of the enemies of the Church, Puritans and Papists; of the garments and ornaments used in the Church; of divers things to be reformed in the present Synod. Sermon being done, the Archbishop and Bishops repairing into the chapter-house, after the despatch of things customarily to be done, the Most Reverend called for the inferior Clergy, and willed them to make choice of a Prolocutor. And on the 7th of April, being the next session, the Archbishop came again in person, and himself said the prayers in Latin, with other proper Collects. Then Goodwin, Dean of Canterbury, and Goodman, Dean of Westminster, presented Dr. Ælmer, Archdeacon of Lincoln, for Prolocutor, the same that was afterwards Bishop of London. Then the Most Reverend accepting and confirming him, willed and commanded all the company of that Lower House, that had not yet subscribed the Articles made in Convocation, anno 1562, now to do it. And that all that would not subscribe them, but refused so to do, (if any such should be,) should be wholly excluded the House.

The next session was held in St. Mary's chapel, commonly called King Henry the VIIth's chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Where after Mr. Latymer, an Archdeacon,

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and Mr. Perkyns, Sub-Dean of Westminster, in the stead and room of Goodman, the Dean, had made the usual protestation, in respect of the privileges of their church and themselves; then did the Archbishop begin the session with the prayers, which he read himself. And then falling upon business, he produced an instrument for a grant of a subsidy to the Queen. Which being read, was presently assented to by that House; and then transmitted to the Prolocutor, and by him to the Lower House; where it also passed.

Bishop of Gloucester excommunicated;

Notice was taken at this third session, (which was April 23,) that Richard, Bishop of Gloucester, had not appeared, neither in person nor proxy, in any of these three sessions; and that he had been that day in Westminster, and was gone out of town without any leave asked of the President, (whatever was the cause, whether, being Popishly affected in some things, he liked not what was to be done this Convocation, or whether he cared not to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, which was to be done by all the members of the Synod, is unknown.) This was taken into consideration by the House; and having been summoned, and not appearing neither in person nor proxy, and before declared contumacious for absence, it was unanimously agreed by the Archbishop and his brethren, that he ought to be excommunicated; and consequently the Archbishop read the sentence of excommunication against him. The form whereof may be found in the Appendix.

Num. LXI.

And denounced.

The next session, being April 27, the denouncing of this sentence was committed to Guy Eaton, Archdeacon of Gloucester, with the assistance of the Queen's Pursuivant; the Bishops commanding him the said Eaton, that he should effectually cause the said letters of excommunication to be denounced in the cathedral of Gloucester, with all speed convenient, in the time of sermon there; and to return the certificate of execution thereof with as much haste as might be.

Is absolved.

Now to take up together how this matter against the Bishop proceeded, and how it concluded. Two or three ses-

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sions after, Anthony Higgins, his Chaplain, came, and exhibited his proxy from the said Bishop, and made himself a party for the same, and instantly petitioned for the benefit of absolution; which by the direction of the Archbishop was 319 indulged to him. And Dr. Yale, the Archbishop's Vicar General, absolved him until a certain day, namely, the 25th of the present month of May; and after that, on excuse of sickness, until June the 15th. But though the Convocation broke up before that time, *viz.* May the 30th, yet June the 15th being come, Higgins appeared again, alleging the Bishop's sickness still to continue, and offering to make oath of it, and petitioning he might be absolved accordingly. He made oath of the truth of his allegation; and the Most Reverend, with the consent of his brethren, Winton, Ely, and Sarum, sitting now, I suppose, in ecclesiastical commission, absolved the said Bishop of Gloucester, in the person of the said Higgins; but yet only to and until the 14th of October next, to which time the Convocation was continued and prorogued.

Resolution taken about the Articles of Religion.

But now to turn back a little, and to see what was done in this Convocation. In the fifth session, being May the 4th, the Convocation having been adjourned to Lambeth, because of the Archbishop's indisposition, as it seemeth, the Bishops assembled, and prayers being said, some discourses were privately held between the Archbishop and the rest of the Bishops. And at last it was unanimously consented to:

First, That when the book of Articles, touching doctrine, should be fully agreed upon, then the same should be put in print by the order and direction of the Bishop of Sarum; and a price set on the same as it was to be sold.

And secondly, That the same being printed, every Bishop to have a convenient number of them to publish throughout their dioceses, and to be read in every parish church throughout the province, four times in the year.

Put into English and printed.

The effect of this was, that the same Articles were in this Synod put into English, and printed, and so they were in Latin also: and the members of the Upper House did receive, profess, and acknowledge them to be certain, true, and

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sound doctrine, and did approve and ratify the same by their subscriptions. Only (which must be noted) here were but thirty-eight articles, as I have observed in an authentic copy of them, if not the very original. But the reason was this, because the fourth and fifth articles, *viz.* that of the *resurrection of Christ*, and that of the *Holy Ghost*, were digested under one, which ought to have been two: occasioned (as it seems) by the carelessness of the scribe, who forgot to add the figure 5. to the *article* of the *Holy Ghost*. And so the next *article*, *viz.* of the doctrine of the *holy Scripture*, which indeed is the sixth article, is made the fifth. And the same is done in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth articles, which are joined without any distinction. But otherwise they are the same with the Latin articles. These articles, thus translated into English, were signed (as was said before) by Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Winton, Ely, Wigorn, Salisbury, Rochester, Bangor, Chichester, Lincoln, and Exon.

Anno 1571.

MSS. C. C. C. C.

The clause of the Church's authority not in the MS. in Bene't college.

In the above-mentioned manuscript book of Articles, the clause concerning the *authority of the Church* in the twentieth or twenty-first article (as there numbered) is wanting. Yet it must be observed here, that there are three different editions of the book of the Thirty-nine Articles in English, printed in this year 1571, by Jugg and Cawood, all which have this clause, (and perhaps there were more.) Which three editions, with the said clause, I myself saw, as well as other inquisitive persons, at Mr. Wilkins's, a bookseller, in St. Paul's Churchyard. And at the end of one of them was the subscription of a Minister. Nor (by the way) need any to wonder at so many editions of the Articles in one year, since such an order was made at this Synod, that they should be read in every parish throughout the province four times a year, whereby it came to pass that every parish Priest should have occasion for one at the least.

Rev. T. B. D. D.

But concerning the said manuscript Articles in Bene't college among Archbishop Parker's papers, I will take leave to mention the conjecture of a very judicious person, and well versed in these antiquities; *viz.* that they seem to be

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adapted to King Edward's Articles, 1552; and to be only a first draught, (as it was Archbishop Parker's way to preserve the first draughts.) Not that it could ever be intended for a record, being writ in a small pale hand, and not very correct; and further, the subscriptions being imperfect, namely, but ten Bishops, beside the Archbishop, subscribing, and none of the other province. Whereas there was another book of discipline (by and by to be mentioned) signed in this same Synod with the hands of almost all the Bishops of both provinces.

320

The manuscript Articles in Bene't college not a record.

Therefore this manuscript of the Articles, which remains in the Bene't college library, (as likewise that of the Articles there, of the Convocation, anno 1562,) ought not to be looked upon as the original record of them, but rather as a first scheme, or draught preparatory; drawn up and fitted for the Synod to consider and deliberate upon, and to receive emendations, alterations, or additions, according to the judgment and debates of the learned members of the Synod; as may be plainly seen in the Archbishop's manuscript Articles of 1562, where so many strokes of his red lead pen throughout the book appear; which is not fair enough for a record. And further, this manuscript is in paper in a small pale letter, not engrossed in parchment in a large black character, as records ought to be. And moreover, neither have these written Articles (nor those in 1562.) the royal authority annexed: which all acts, approved of and finally passed the royal consent, must have, by affixing the broad seal to them, as is usual in all instruments ratified by the Prince. To which may be added, that records of Convocation were always reposited safely in St. Paul's church, London, in the Archbishop's registry, there to remain. Nor could nor would our Archbishop take any thence into his own private possession, and afterwards convey them away to his college; he was too strict an observer of good orders so to do.

Vide Annals of the Reformation, p. 288.

For these and such like reasons (as a late learned author hath at large very satisfactorily shewn, to whom I refer the reader) recourse cannot be had to these manuscript Articles,

Vindicat. of the Church of England, &c. p. 79. &c.

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sometime belonging to Archbishop Parker, and now preserved in the aforesaid college, unless only as previous draught for the use of those Synods; which he the said Archbishop, as President of the Convocation, might keep, together with the subscriptions thereunto; which imported, that they had been read and allowed, though not finally concluded on and perfected.

The clause of the Church's authority allowed in this Synod.

But to consider a little further, by the light the foresaid author gives, concerning the clause of the *Church's authority*, which is not found in the said preparatory draught of the Articles of this year 1571, as it was likewise wanting in the like draught of 1562, being both transcripts of King Edward's Articles, 1552, where that clause was not. That first Synod of 1562, in all probability, framed the twentieth article with that addition of the Church's *power of decreeing rites and ceremonies, and authority*, &c. as we have it now; as is evident from two Latin copies of the Thirty-nine Articles, printed by Reynold Wolf, 1563, soon after the conclusion of that Synod: both which have it. One is still extant in the Bodley library, at Oxford, among Mr. Selden's books; with this remark, that as it was printed it was read over in the Synod of 1571, and allowed and confirmed by the subscription of above an hundred names of the Lower House. And among these are the names of John Elmar, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Prolocutor; and Alexander Nowell, Dean of Paul's, Prolocutor in the last Synod. Which original subscriptions, in a long roll, are tacked to that printed book, and remain in the same library, being found in Archbishop Laud's library, from whence Mr. Selden immediately had it.

And beside the two former in Latin, there were several English editions of this book of Articles with the clause, printed by Jugg and Cawood, in this same year 1571, as was shewn before.

The edition of the Articles without it, spurious.

So that at length an edition that appeared abroad in the same year, printed by John Day, wanting the clause, hath been judged (and that upon good grounds) to be spurious: and the rasure of the *Church's power and authority*, to be

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owing to the interest and cunning of a faction that then prevailed much, and had not a few favourers at Court. Which indeed we see abundantly in this present history, and by the labours and troubles our Archbishop continually underwent on that account.

Anno 1571.

The last paragraph of this book of Articles in Latin contained the confirmation of them, and was as follows: *Hic liber antedictorum Articulorum jam denuo approbatus est per assensum et consensum Sereniss. Reginæ Elizabethæ Dominæ nostræ, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Reginæ, Defensoris Fidei, &c. retinendus, et per totum regnum Angliæ exequendus. Qui Articuli et lecti sunt et denuo confirmati subscriptione Domini Archiepi. et Episcoporum Superioris Domus, et totius Cleri Inferioris Domus in Convocatione, anno Dom.* 1571. And to the same tenor is the ratification of them in English.

321 The Queen's confirmation of these Articles.

At this Convocation was also a book of Canons made and agreed to by the Archbishop and Bishops, for *discipline*, (a thing now much talked of,) entitled, *Liber quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* And it is said to contain "certain articles concerning the sacred ministry, "and providing for the Churches: upon which it was fully "agreed in the Synod by the Lord Matthew, Archbishop "of Canterbury, and all the rest of the Bishops of his pro-"vince, partly personally present, and partly subscribing "by the hand of their proxies in the Synod, begun at "London the 3d of April, 1571." These Canons wisely and piously directed and regulated the duties of the Bishops, of Deans of cathedral churches, of Archdeacons, of Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, of Churchwardens, and other select men, of preachers, of residence and plurality, of schoolmasters, and lastly, of patrons and proprietaries. To which is added a grave form of denouncing an excommunication in the congregation against an adulterer; and might be used against any other notorious sinner. This book of discipline was also thought fit to be printed for more public benefit; and so it was this year by John Day, and is extant in Bishop Sparrow's Collections. In it were many useful

A book of Canons made for discipline.

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BOOK IV. and good orders for the promoting piety, virtue, and learning, both in Ministers and their flocks. For, to give a taste of them,

Anno 1571.

The Canons for Bishops.

It began with *Bishops*, requiring them diligently to teach the Gospel, not only in their cathedral churches, but also through all the churches of their dioceses, where they should think most expedient. That they should in the first place exhort the people to reading and hearing of the holy Scriptures; and that at the set times they repair to their churches, and carefully hearken to the sermons, and meekly to hear the godly prayers which be said by the Minister; and that they pray together; and that they should partake of the heavenly mysteries, as then they were lawfully and godly provided in our churches by the authority and command of the whole kingdom. That every Bishop should before September next call to him all public preachers that should be in their respective dioceses, and require of them their faculties for preaching under authentic seal; and either to keep them or annul them. And then making a prudent choice, whom he should find, by age, learning, judgment, innocency, modesty, and gravity, fit for so great a function, freely to give new licences; yet first to subscribe the Articles of Christian Religion, and promise to defend and maintain the doctrine contained in them, as being most agreeable to the truth of God's word. That the Bishop should consider again, what sort of men he took into his family. Since it fell out sometimes, where this caution was not taken, that they admitted ungodly persons, enemies to true religion, criminals, and men of impure and wicked lives: whence the adversary would easily take the advantage of speaking evil of them. That their servants should wear modest and sober apparel, that so they offended not their brethren, whom St. Paul called, *the house of faith*. That they should lay their hands on none but such as were instructed in good learning, either in the University, or some lower schools, or who well understood the Latin tongue, and was conversant in the Scriptures, and of lawful age according to the statutes, and whose life and behaviour was commended by the

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testimony of grave and pious men, well known to the Bishop; not brought up in husbandry, or some other mean trade or calling; and that had a title, whence he might maintain himself, if by the permission of God he fell into blindness, or some other great bodily infirmity, or durable disease; and who should exercise his ministry within his diocese; nor ever, but when some sacred ministry happened to fall void in the same diocese. But that he should receive no 322 stranger, or unknown person, either to any benefices or ecclesiastical ministry: unless he brought with him commendatory (which they call *dimissory*) letters from that Bishop out of whose diocese he departed. That no Bishop should give the next, the second or third advowsons of their prebends and benefices. For that they were contrary to good manners and Christian charity: nor demise to many persons the fruits or rents of any rectory, or ecclesiastical benefice. That he should suffer none, who by an idle name called themselves *readers*, and received not imposition of hands in the ministry of the Church. And lastly, that every Archbishop and Bishop should have at home the holy Bible in the largest volume, as it was lately printed at London, and all that history which was called, *The Monuments of the Martyrs*, and some other like books belonging to religion: which books should be placed, either in the hall, or in the great dining-room, for the use of the servants and guests. This is the sum of the article for Bishops: the rest of the book is of this good strain; which I need not repeat more of.

CHAR. V.

Anno 1571.

These Canons in Latin are extant in Bene't college library, under this title; *Sequuntur in hoc libello certi quidam Articuli de Sacro Ministerio et Procuratione Ecclesiarum; in quos plenè consensum est in Synodo à Domino Matthæo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et totius Angliæ Primati et Metropolitano, et reliquis omnibus ejus Provinciæ Episcopis, partim personaliter præsentibus, partim procuratoriâ manu subscribentibus, in Synodo inchoatâ Londini in æde Divi Pauli tertio die Aprilis* 1571. Signed by all these Bishops:

Synodal. p. 455.

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Matthæus Cantuar.
Edwinus London.
Robert. Winton.
Jo. Heref.
Richardus Elien.
Nic. Wigorn.
Edmundus Peterburg. per Nic. Wigorn.
Jo. Sarisburien.
R. Meneven.
Edm. Roffen.
Gilb. Bathon. et Welen.
Thomas Coven. et Lich.
Joannes Norwic.
Ni. Bangor.
Thomas Asaph, et Hugo Landaff. per N. Bangor. Procur. su.
Richard. Cicestren.
Thomas Lincoln.
Willielmus Exon.
Edmundus Ebor. per Matth. Cant. Procuratorem.
Jacobus Dunelm. per Robert. Winton, Procuratorem.
Guliel. Cestren.

The framers of this book.

In the framing of this foresaid book of Canons, the Archbishop, and the Bishops of Ely and Winton, had the main hand: but all the Bishops of both provinces in Synod, in their own persons, or by proxy, signed it: but not the Lower House. And the Archbishop laboured to get the Queen's allowance to it, but had it not: she often declining to give her licence to their orders and constitutions, reckoning that her Bishops' power and jurisdiction alone, having their authority derived from her, was sufficient. In the month of July or August, the Archbishop sent this book to Grindal, Archbishop of York, recommending it to the observation of the Clergy in his province: and for his judgment of it.

Archbishop of York's judgment concerning these Canons. August 28. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig. Vol. A.

What that Archbishop's thoughts of it was, is worth observing; which appears from his answer he sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as follows: "He thanked his Grace "for the book of Articles and Discipline. But he stood in "doubt whether they had *vigorem legis*, unless they had "either been concluded upon in Synod, and after ratified "by her Majesty's royal assent *in scriptis*; (fine words, "added he, fly away as wind; and will not serve us, if we "were empleaded in a case of *premunire*;) or else were "confirmed by act of Parliament. He said, he liked the "book very well: and that if hereafter he should doubt in

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"any point, or wish it enlarged in any respect, he would "signify to his Grace hereafter. And if there were at present want of sufficient authority; yet it was well that the "book was ready, and might receive more authority at the "next Parliament, yet we see he and his provincial Bishops "signed it."

Let me add here what I find our Archbishop further speaking concerning the book, when he was about putting it into print; that he did it for further instruction; "And "if it pleased not, *faciet Deus quod bonum est in oculis suis.* "And that for his part, he was at a point in these worldly "respects. And yet should be ready to hear, *quid in me* "*loquatur Dominus.*" 323

But notwithstanding these doubts and suspicions, which did not without reason arise in the minds of these and other of the Bishops, (knowing what watchful back-friends they had,) yet they proceeded according to the abovesaid book of discipline; especially in what concerned their Clergy in their respective dioceses. And whereas one of the articles was, to require all licences for preaching to be brought in to the Bishop before September, and new ones to be given; the Bishop of Ely, the month before, sent forth his instructions and commands to his Chancellor or Commissary, to this tenor:

Preachers' licences called in.

"That forasmuch as it was ordained for sundry and "weighty considerations, that no Minister should preach, "neither in his cure, nor out of his cure, without lawful "licence unto him granted: and therefore, that it was "further ordained, that all preachers having licences to "preach at any time before the last day of April last past, "must render up the old licence unto the Bishop of the "diocese; to the intent the same might be renewed orderly: "this therefore was to will and require him, to give in "commandment to all preachers within his diocese, that "they should bring in unto him, [the Chancellor or Com-"missary,] without delay, all their licences, which before "the said day they had obtained; to the intent they might

Register Cox, fol. 55. Rev. Tho. Baker. D. Joan. Col. Socii, Collectan.

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"be speedily renewed, either by the Queen's Majesty, or "by my Lord of Canterbury his Grace, or by him, [the Bi-"shop,] or by the University of Cambridge. Which things "he intended (God willing) speedily to bring to pass. And "that in case any of the preachers, being admonished, did "neglect to bring in their licence, that his name should be "signified unto him [the Bishop.] And further, he re-"quired him [the Chancellor] to signify unto him all the "licences which he or the Commissary should receive; "and all the names of them that were preachers within his "diocese: and this without delay. This was dated from "his house at Stanton, August 28, 1571.

"Signed,

"Richard Ely."

The reformation of the ecclesiastical laws brought into the Parliament.

In this Parliament was the last effort, I think, made to bring into practice in this realm, by authority of Parliament, a body of ecclesiastical and civil laws, that had been carefully framed by Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Goodrick, Dr. Cox, now Bishop of Ely, Dr. May, afterwards elect of York, Dr. Peter Martyr, Dr. Rowland Taylour, afterward a holy martyr, and some other civilians and common lawyers: and the rubbish of the old Popish canons and constitutions being laid aside, this, as a just and complete *codex*, to be used in the room thereof. Acts of Parliament were passed for this end, both in the time of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. The work was closely plied and finished by the foresaid learned and excellent men under King Edward: and put into very elegant Latin by the pens of Dr. Haddon and Sir John Cheke; and had certainly been ratified, had God spared that King's life till another Parliament. Such a body of laws to succeed the old ones had been many years desired by the learnedest and best men of the reformed religion. And now in the present Parliament, so active for the reforming of religion, it was moved, as was thought, seasonably. And care was taken to have it printed against the sitting of the Parliament. Which was done by John Fox, from two original MS. copies: the former, Archbi-

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shop Cranmer's own book; (which afterwards fell into Fox's possession;) wherein was much of his own hand, as likewise of Peter Martyr's, and other the assistants: the other a copy belonging to Archbishop Parker. Who, I verily believe, employed and encouraged Fox in preparing this book for the press. And that he made use of our Archbishop's copy, appears by what Fox wrote in his own on the head of the page that contains the titles of the whole following 324 book; viz. *Ordo Titulorum in Cod. D. Matth. Cant.* placing those titles according to the said Archbishop's copy, communicated to him.

The success of it. Dew's Journal, p. 157.

April 6, Mr. Norton, a stirring member of the House, (charactered *a wise and bold man, and eloquent,*) in a speech there, mentioned this book, and propounded, that consideration should be had of it: and that Mr. Fox had taken pains about it, and printed it; Norton then and there producing it. And a committee was thereupon appointed for redress of sundry defects in religion. But instead of reviewing and furthering the establishment of this excellent and elaborate book, the Parliament fell rather upon examining other matters of religion already established, which gave the Queen great offence.

This book, thus set forth, had a large Preface written by John Fox; and the reason of the edition of it at this time appeared by the conclusion, *viz. Interim illustrissimi*, &c. The purport whereof was, "That he could not sufficiently "commend that so pious and Christian care of that most "illustrious Prince: and he thought the diligence of those "learned men deserved no less praise, who were employed "in compiling these laws, that had been received with the "highest approbation and applause of those times. And "no doubt was to be made, that they had been established "by authority of Parliament, and decreed for public use, "had that good King lived a little longer. Which, as it "gave matter of great grief, so now it were to be wished "that the happiness denied the Church by his too early "death, might be supplied in the more happy days of

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"Queen Elizabeth, the authority of the present Parliament "concurring, and the favour and countenance of learned "men accompanying. And them he earnestly beseeched to "construe in good part the boldness he had taken in pub-"lishing this book at this time. But all that good pains is "lost, and fallen to the ground."

A protestation to be taken.

Among the papers of the Archbishop, late in possession of William Petyt, of the Middle Temple, Esquire, deceased, there is a protestation drawn up for Papists, and another for Puritans: both which agreed in this one point, however disagreeing in others, *viz.* concerning allegiance to the Queen. These protestations being framed about this time I conclude to be done by this Synod.

By Papists; MSS. G. P. Armig.

The protestation to be taken by the Papists ran in this tenor: "I do profess and confess before God, that I do "firmly believe in my conscience that Queen Elizabeth, "my Sovereign Lady, now reigning in England, is right-"fully and ought to be and continue Queen, and lawfully "beareth the regal crown and power of this realm: and so "to be obeyed, notwithstanding any act or sentence, that "any Pope or Bishop hath done or given, or can do or "give: and that if any Pope or other say or judge the "contrary, whether he say it as Pope, or howsoever, he err-"eth, and affirmeth, holdeth, and teacheth error."

By Puritans.

The protestation to be taken by the supposed Puritan was this: "I do profess and confess before God, that I "do firmly believe in my conscience that Queen Elizabeth, "my Sovereign Lady now reigning in England, is and "ought to be and continue lawful Queen, and lawfully bear-"eth the regiment, crown, and power of this realm, and so to "be obeyed; notwithstanding any act or sentence, that any "church, synod, consistory, or ecclesiastical assembly hath "done or given, or can do or give. And that if any say "or judge the contrary, in what respect soever he saith it, "he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth, and teacheth error and "falsehood."

The Puritans complain;

This Convocation gave new occasion to the Puritans to

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make complaints: for the ecclesiastical garments were now again pressed. And the news thereof was by them spread abroad unto the reformed Churches. CHAP. V. Anno 1571.

The Puritans, (for so were they now commonly called, that would not comply with the established orders of the Church, unless there were a further reformation therein,) however they were not allowed to officiate in public, and had their licences (if they had any before) disallowed and annulled, yet did still in their own, or other churches, or in private houses, read prayers different from the established office of Common Prayer: using the Geneva form, or mangling the English book; and preached without licences. The Queen hearing of this, to put a stop to it, ordered the Archbishop, and the rest of her ecclesiastical Commissioners, to issue out an order to all churchwardens, not to suffer any to read, pray, or preach, and minister any sacraments, in any churches, chapels, or private places, without licence from the Queen, the Archbishop, or Bishop of the diocese. And in this they were required to use all diligence at their peril. This was dated in June. But behold the instrument faithfully exemplified in the Appendix, with the Archbishop's hand and divers other Commissioners' set to it. 325 Their worship. The Queen's order to the Archbishop concerning them. Num. LXII.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbishop acting in the ecclesiastical commission. Divers leading Puritans dealt with there. Robert Brown. Robert Johnson. The Archbishop's complaint of the Inns of Court. The Queen's command to him to proceed in reforming disorders. Prosecutes the book of Articles and Discipline. The Dutch Church. The Archbishop presents Bullinger's book to the Queen. The Twenty-ninth Article of Religion. Repairs Lambeth house. Confirms the Bishop of Sarum. Consecrates the Bishop of Rochester. Grants dispensations to Dr. Whitgift, &c.

OUR Archbishop, having thus both the command and countenance of his Sovereign Mistress, was very busy this

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summer, together with the Bishops of Winton and Ely, in the execution of the ecclesiastical commission, in order to reduce all the Queen's subjects to a quiet uniformity in the public worship of God, legally established. And for that purpose he thought it expedient, that all the heads in both the provinces that obstructed this should be called before the commission; that if they intended to continue their ministry, then to take new licences, and subscribe certain articles, according to a new act of Parliament for reforming certain disorders in Ministers: or upon refusal to resign quietly, or be deprived. And this proceeding he resolved upon. But because he knew in this work he should have eyes enough upon him, with his resolution he mixed prudence, and thought it advisable to have as many other Bishops to join with him as he might; as Winton, Ely, Worcester, and Chichester. Sarum was absent in his diocese, but promised to stand by him. Of the Bishop of London, he doubted, if it came to suspension or deprivation, whether he would be concerned. "But for his own part, as he "wrote in a letter to Grindal, Archbishop of York, that "howsoever the world might judge, he would serve God, "his Prince, and her laws, in his conscience; as it was high "time to set upon it. And yet, he said, he would be glad "to be advised, to work prudently, rather to edification than "to destruction."

Anno 1571.

The Archbishop in the ecclesiastical commission.

Eliz. 13. c. 12.

Puritans cited.

Now therefore were cited up to Lambeth these chief Puritans; Goodman, Lever, Sampson, Walker, Whiborne, Gouff, and some others. These came under the Archbishop's examination in the beginning of June. What was done with them I find not; but that Lever this year resigned a prebend, which I think he had in the church of Durham. And Goodman [or Gudman] remained in Town till August. Out of whose book (that I suppose writ against the *Government of Women*) the Archbishop had gathered many articles, with which he was to be charged. The Archbishop of York, to whom our Archbishop had sent a copy of them, judged them very dangerous, and tending to sedition; he added, that he could never see the book but once

Goodman.

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beyond sea. [No, to be sure, under a woman's government it was thought fit to be concealed as much as could be.] And then he thought, when he read it, that the arguments were never concludent; and that he always found more in the conclusion than in the premises. But Goodman was by the Commissioners demanded to subscribe to a revocation of those articles, which as yet he would not; but desired to go home: which they would not permit hitherto.

Dering's assertions.

Dering, another leading Puritan, was now before the Archbishop and the other Commissioners. And certain assertions laid down, either in some book or sermon of his, or perhaps by word of mouth, were charged upon him: which he maintained and subscribed to before them, *viz.*

Sexto die Junii, 1571.

IN violata lege Principis, peccatum est scandali, non facti.

Christus descendit ad inferos virtute passionis, nullo neque corporis, neque animi itinere.

Juramenta sunt licita, libris tanquam tessaris consignata. Librum vero ipsum ad juramenti fidem adhibere, omnino est sacrilegum.

Vestes, quas verè Papisticas vocamus, mihi videntur plenæ offensionum, ac mihi secus ad veritatem persuadere libentissimè cupiverim. [Here is something miswritten or omitted.]

Edward Dering.

Whittingham.

Of the other province were Whittingham and Gilby, two other obnoxious men. The Archbishop had his eye also upon them; and had desired the Archbishop of York to deal with them; and that when he should have conferred with the former, to send him word how he should find him. That Archbishop accordingly sent for him to appear before him at Cawood, assuring our Archbishop that he would not fail to advertise him what his answer should be to the matter objected. But he trusted he should find conformity in him; because he had subscribed concerning apparel in his

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1571. Gilby.

predecessor's days. But as for Gilby, he now dwelt at Leicester; and so being out of his province of York, as he informed our Archbishop, he left him rather to him.

Robert Browne.

Another great ringleader of schism from the Church established was now cited also to appear before Commissioners, by one of the Queen's messengers. And he was Robert Brown, famous for that denomination of Dissenters, called *Brownists*. And such it seems was his parts, or his interest, (being the son of a gentleman of good quality in Rutlandshire,) that he was (however but young) entertained as domestic Chaplain with the Duke of Norfolk. Who so far now took his part, as to deny to obey the message, and to defend Brown, as living in a place of privilege. When this news was brought to the Archbishop, he shewed indeed his respect to that noble person, but withal his resolution to proceed in his office with this man: as knowing there was no place exempt from the commission; and letting his Grace know as much: and that in case he persisted to detain him, he must and would use other methods. And to this purpose his letter to the Duke ran, signed by himself and the other Commissioners: which may not be unworthy the perusing. The minutes whereof were to this tenor.

The Archbishop to the Duke of Norfolk, concerning Browne. MSS. G. Petyt Armig.

"Whereas upon just cause, and according to the trust "that her Majesty hath put in us, we sent for one Brown, "your Grace's Chaplain, (as he saith,) by a messenger of her "Majesty's Chamber, appointed for that purpose; we are "given to understand, that your Grace would not suffer "him to come unto us, alleging a privileged place for his "defence: our commission extendeth to all places, as well "exempt as not exempt, within her Majesty's dominions, "and before this time never by any called into question. "We are persuaded that your Grace knowing the author-
327 "ity of our commission, and how straitly we are charged "to proceed in redressing disorders, will not stay your said "servant contrary to the laws of this realm; but will send "him unto us, to answer such matters as he is to be charged "withal. We would be loath to use other means to bring

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"him to his answer, as we must be forced to do, if your "Grace will not like hereof. Thus we bid your Grace "heartily farewell.

"Your loving friends,

"Gabriel Goodman, Matthue Cantuar.
"Richard Wendesly, Edm. London, R. Monson."

From Lambhith, June 13.

Some account of him.

Whatsoever censure Browne underwent from the Archbishop at this commission, afterwards he went beyond sea, as divers others of these new reformers commonly did. Then he, and one Harrison a schoolmaster, writ a dangerous schismatical book, printed at Zealand, which was dispersed over England, condemning this Church, as no Church. In the year 1581, I find him a preacher in Norwich; where by Freke, the Bishop, and the ecclesiastical Commissioners there, he was committed to custody, and was a prisoner of the High Sheriff's of the county, for somewhat he had preached. Thence he was sent up to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who brought him to some compliance, and so discharged him. This was about the year 1585. He went then to his father's house at Tolethorp. But still retaining his former devices, upon the displeasure of the old gentleman, he departed from him, and went to Stamford. Anno 1589 he conformed, but continued still very freakish; and his sect and tenets remained long after himself had renounced them, even to our days.

Full. Church Hist.

Rob. Johnson appears before the Commissioners.

On this occasion some trouble also happened to one Robert Johnson, domestic Chaplain to the Lord Keeper Bacon, at Goramburie; who used to preach and administer the Sacrament in his family there: and, as it seems, had some place of ministry at St. Alban's. This man appeared before our Archbishop, and the Bishops of Winton and Ely, at Lambeth, in July: where he was required to sign the three articles, in order to the having licence granted him to officiate and minister in the Church. But he refused, being not satisfied in every particular of those articles. And so he departed, suspended. But how far he afterwards offered to

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BOOK IV. comply, and where he stuck, may be seen by his humble letter sent to the Commissioners, dated Aug. 14, petitioning to be restored to his ministry, importing,

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His letter to them. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"That whereas the 4th of July last, being before their "Lordships, to answer to their three articles, he did forbear "to subscribe to the first of them, [*viz.* concerning the Book "of Common Prayer, to be agreeable to the word of God,] "especially for that it seemed to him secretly to contain a "licence of ministering baptism by women; a thing forbid-"den by the word of God. And that since that time, he had "stood by that only occasion suspended and sequestered "by their order, from preaching and ministering the Sa-"crament: and thereby my Lord and his family had want-"ed, longer than their accustomed manner had been, those "most necessary, comfortable, and Christian helps and ex-"ercises of religion; especially regarding the number of "their youthful retinue: among whom all manner of vices "did increase apace, and zeal, virtue, and the true fear of "God decreased through lack of due admonition and in-"struction: that therefore, his duty herein to his Lord-"ship's household particularly considered, and to those "parts of the Church whereby he had some maintenance, "moved him with all due humility and submission to be-"seech them to restore him to his former liberty.

"And that touching the articles, he trusted this should "suffice, and would content them, and fully answer their "meaning contained in them: that is, by this his letter "subscribed with his own hand, he did promise that he "did not mean to vary from the ordinary book of service "in his ministry: neither by public speech, expressly, wit-"tingly, or maliciously to inveigh against it, but to move "the auditory to hold the truth in matters of faith and
328 "body of religion, and in the fear of God to live there-"after. And that he thought that the contents in the ser-"vice book expressly mentioned, and according to their "exposition unto him made, were such as were not defec-"tive, nor expressly contrary or against the word of God:

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"and that the imperfections thereof might for unity and "charity-sake be suffered, till God grant a time of perfect "reformation. Whereunto every man in his vocation "ought diligently to labour.

"To the second, That the Ministers' apparel, as it was "not wicked, and directly against the word of God, being "by the Prince appointed only for policy, obedience, and "order sake, might be used; yet not generally expedient "nor edifying.

"To the third, That the Articles of Religion, which only "concerned the confession of the true Christian faith, and "the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book im-"printed, entitled, *Articles, whereupon it was agreed by "the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the "whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, in the "year of our Lord* 1562, *according to the computation of "the Church of England*, and every of them, contained "true and godly Christian doctrine.

"And for that he perceived that it was offensive to his "Grace, upon some former occasion conceived, that he had "by his Lord [Lord Keeper] the gift of a prebend in "Norwich, he let him understand, (thus advised,) that he "meant to relinquish the same in one half year next en-"suing, at the farthest. And thus trusting, that upon the "receipt of this his humble submission, in form aforesaid, "they would release him; and grant him new licence to "preach, yielding up his old. And so committed their "Lordships, in all their godly zealous attempts, to the "blessing and tuition of Almighty God. Subscribing "himself,

"Their Lordships' most humble orator,

From the Lord Keeper's house at Gorhambury, beside St. Alban's, the 14*th of August*, 1571. "Robert Johnson."

Johnson's misdemeanor in King's college. MSS. penes me.

This Johnson was a Fellow of King's college in Cambridge; where, some years after, (*viz.* 1576,) he was engaged with Liless, and two more Fellows of that house, in

BOOK IV. Anno 1571.

an accusation of Dr. Goad, their Provost, for misgovernment, a great number of articles being by them forged and drawn up against him. Which articles Robert Johnson was the man that repaired up to the Chancellor of that University, *viz.* the Lord Burghley, (being known to him,) and preferred them. The business had a full hearing before the said Chancellor; and the Provost was cleared; and these false accusers committed to the Gate-house in Westminster. Afterwards their submissions and recantations, for raising false and slanderous articles against their Provost, were made by subscription and word of mouth, both before the Chancellor and the Provost. The said Chancellor (who knew Johnson better than the rest) reproved him sharply, and charged him with want of shame. He wrote letters to that Lord, expressing his repentance, and confessing his consent to and delivery of many malicious and false articles, set forth and penned with many unseemly, rash, and undiscreet terms and words, to the impairing of their Provost's name, and many most untruths concerning the state of the college. This man soon after, being minded to leave the college, had the confidence to request the said Lord Burghley to admit him his Chaplain and domestic.

Farther account of him.

I find one Robert Johnson, M. A. (which I believe to be the same,) to be Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. Who, in the year 1609, September the 3d, preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, upon the 119th Psalm, v. 33. *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes*, &c. And printed it with a dedication to the said Bishop. In which sermon it appears he was fully reconciled to the established Church's usages; reflecting "upon many of his brethren of the ministry, "that had excellent parts and gifts, and were called into "the Lord's harvest; and notwithstanding, rather than "they would wear a surplice, or submit themselves to au-"thority commanded by God's ordinance, left that *mag-"num opus*, that great work of preaching the Gospel un-
329 "done; yea, utterly disclaimed and renounced their call-"ings." And some of the laity he also blamed, (whom he called the "roes and hinds of the field," which started aside

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at the cracking of a stick,) "for refusing their own parish "churches, and to hear their own Pastors, were they never "so learned or well habited in speech, because they wore "a surplice, or made a cross upon a child; and would run "after and get them a heap of teachers, that spake evil of "them that were in authority,——and that would rail "against Bishops, &c." There was another sermon of his preached at the Cross, anno 1620, upon 2 Thess. ii. 14. and printed, B. D. being now added to his name; and as though he were of some account with George, Archbishop of Canterbury, he dedicated it to him. And in this sermon he spake of "*schismatical spirits*, who under colour of "zeal, &c. would, if they could, banish those Bishops, "which Christ and his Apostles appointed, and would turn "all discipline and government upside down, churches into "chambers, Bishops into Syndics," &c.

Thus we have seen Brown and Johnson, both in their youth and heat; and what they were in their maturer years.

The Archbishop's eye upon the Inns of Court.

But to observe farther our Archbishop's cares at this time in the discharge of the ecclesiastical commission. In the month of June he had his eye upon the gentlemen of the Inns of Court. Many whereof, Popishly affected, were admitted to degrees there, and some that had been put out of commons, or expelled, were received again: when about two years ago notice was taken of them; and they became reduced to better order in religion, by means of a decree or ordinance made by the Lords and others in the Star Chamber, touching the correction of the same houses, for sundry their contempts and obstinacy in that behalf. The careful Archbishop in a letter reminded the Lord Treasurer of this; and withal informed him, that now of late they of those Inns of Court grew very disordered and licentious in overbold speeches and doings, touching religion; and that without controlment. Which happened, as he took it, for want of due execution and observation of the Lords' said decree and ordinance; the same having not been so effectually and severely considered by the ancients and gover-

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BOOK IV. nors of the said houses, as were convenient. He therefore desired his Lordship to obtain a letter (the minutes whereof he now had sent) from the Lords of the Council to them, the Commissioners ecclesiastical. And by virtue thereof, and of the commission, he hoped there would soon be better order and reformation therein, to the furtherance of religion. This he wrote from Lambeth, June 17.

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The minutes of the abovementioned letter follow:

The Council to the Archbishop for the reformation of them. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"After our hearty commendations. There was an order "taken in the Star Chamber about two years sithence by "the Lords of the Privy Council, your Lordships, the "Judges, and others there, for the putting out of com-"mons, expulsion and reformation of sundry corrupt and "perverse sorts in religion, in the Inns of Court; and for "the restraint of that sort to be preferred to the degrees "and callings there. Whereupon letters were directed "from us to the Benchers and Governors of the said "houses for the execution thereof accordingly, as by the said "order and letters more at large appeareth. Neverthe-"less we are now of late credibly informed, that the said "Benchers and Governors have been somewhat remiss and "careless in the execution of the said orders and letters: "and chiefly, in that they have sithence received again "certain persons there, that be expulsed, or put out of "commons; and prefer others, some to degrees and call-"ings there, contrary to the true meaning of the said order "and letters.

"We do hereby require your Lordships, that you, and "such others of the Commissioners ecclesiastical there as "your Lordships shall think most meet, will carefully per-"use and consider the said order; and thereupon to call "before you such of the Benchers or Governors of the "said houses as you shall think fittest, and best affected "in religion: and by their good advice and furtherance, "to search and sift out the manner of the execution, "breach, and observation of the said order and letters.

330 "And thereupon to take such order, as well for the re-

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"formation of that that hath, or may be done, contrary to "the true meaning of the said order; as also to make "such further order and orders against the corrupt and "obstinate sort, both in the said houses of Court, as also "in the houses of Chancery, as to your good consider-"ations shall from time to time be thought convenient. "Wherein, as occasion shall serve, upon your advertise-"ment, our good assistance shall be always ready in that "behalf. And so fare you heartily well. From Westmin-"ster, the 17th day of June, 1571.

"Your loving friends, &c."

Thus warily did the Archbishop proceed in the commission, getting his doings strengthened by authority and orders from above.

He argues about the danger of a premunire.

He and his brethren in the ecclesiastical commission went on to prosecute the late book of Articles and Discipline before spoken of. And whereas we heard how tender the Archbishop of York was of acting in it, lest it might plunge him and them into *premunire*, if they should put it in force without the Queen's express order, or an act of Parliament; the Archbishop told him now, after a month or two, that he was too timorous: and further, that himself, and the Bishop of Ely, had applied to the Queen about it; and so represented the matter, that seeing there was no new doctrine in it, she seemed to be contented. He added, that in case it were repealed hereafter, yet that there was no fear of *premunire* matter, (as he, the Archbishop of York, might better consider the statute,) but only fining at her pleasure; as he was persuaded her Majesty would not do.

He prosecutes the commission.

The Bishop of Ely, one of the Archbishop's assistants, now in August went home upon command, taking along with him in custody the Bishop of Rosse, a dangerous *busy* agent of the Scots Queen. But Bishop Horn stayed with him. And for the supply of Ely's absence, the Queen ordered the Bishops of London and Sarum to be sent for, to sit with the Archbishop in the commission. And so he

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with his assistants went on earnestly both against Papists and Puritans: and, as he said, doubted not at length to "bring them to some better stowage," (as he bluntly expressed it.) And although, as he added, they had many great letters from great folks, yet they proceeded, and had laid aside fear and favour, according to a letter her Majesty had writ to him. A copy of which he communicated to the Archbishop of York; whereby he might see (as our Archbishop told him) how she relented, [meaning, not at all.] And was as follows:

"ELIZABETH,

The Queen to the Archbishop, to press uniform order. MSS. G. P. Armig.

"Most reverend Father in God, right trusty and right "well-beloved, we greet you well. Where we required "you, as the Metropolitan of our realm, and as the princi-"pal person in our commission for causes ecclesiastical, to "have good regard that such uniform order in the divine "service and rules of the Church might be duly kept, as "by the laws in that behalf is provided, and by our Injunc-"tions also declared and explained: and that you should "call unto you, for your assistance, certain of our Bishops, "to reform the abuses and disorders of sundry persons "seeking to make alteration therein: we understanding, "that with the help of the reverend Fathers in God, "the Bishops of Winton and Ely, and some others, ye "have well entered into some convenient reformation of "things disordered; and that now the Bishop of Ely is by "our commandment repaired into his diocese, whereby ye "shall want his assistance, we minding earnestly to have a "perfect reformation of all abuses attempted to deform "the uniformity prescribed by our laws and injunctions, "and that none should be suffered to decline, either on the "left or on the right hand, from the direct line limited by "authority of our said laws and injunctions; do earnestly, "by our authority royal, will and charge you by all means "lawful to proceed herein as you have begun. And for "your assistance, we will that you shall by authority "hereof, and in our name, send for the Bishops of London

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"and Sarum, and communicate these our letters with "them; and straitly charge them to assist you from time "to time, between this and the month of October, to do "all manner of things requisite to reform such abuses as 331 "afore are mentioned, in whomsoever ye shall find the "same. And if you shall find in any of the said Bishops, "(which we trust ye shall not,) or in any other whose aid "you shall require, any remissness to aid and assist you; "if upon your admonition the same shall not be amended, "we charge you to advertise us. For we mean not that "any persons, having credit by their vocation to aid you, "should for any respect forbear, or become remiss in this "service, tending to the observation of our laws, injunc-"tions, and commandments.

"Given at our manor of Hatfield, the 20th day of Au-"gust, in the 13th year of our reign."

This letter, so roundly penned, put life and vigour into the Archbishop in this troublesome business.

A matter of the Dutch churches comes before the commission.

Another matter now in August or September came before the commission ecclesiastical. Some endeavours there had been to bring the Protestant Dutch churches, particularly those in Norwich and London, under the Bishops of the respective dioceses wherein they were: at least, that they should have a superintendency over them. And Sandys, the present Bishop of London, insisting, as it seems, too much upon his jurisdiction, and claiming to be their Superintendent, as indeed his predecessor, Bishop Grindal, was, (but as I think by their consent and desire,) had the less esteem among them. The Bishop of Norwich seemed to err as much on the other hand, as though he disclaimed all oversight over them. The Ministers of those churches, and some of their members, (it seems,) pleaded earnestly before the Commissioners for their liberty and exemption, by virtue of their privileges granted them by charters.

These short hints did the Archbishop give of this matter, in a letter to the Archbishop of York, *viz.* "That they, "the Commissioners, had much ado with the Ministers of

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"the Dutch church, especially with the Dutch folks at "Norwich. The Bishop there, he feared, prejudiced "too much his own jurisdiction. That his successor, [he "meant the present Bishop of London,] as he was in-"formed, was contemned by them: but that of charity, "they of the commission must help him, if he regarded not "too much his superintendentship."

The Archbishop sends the Queen Bullinger's book against the Pope's bull.

The Archbishop did join with the rest of his brethren the Bishops, in giving all deference to Henry Bullinger, chief Pastor of the Church of Zurich; who had shewn great tenderness and regard to many learned exiles there under Queen Mary's reign; and who rejoiced at the reformation in England. This reverend man had lately in his zeal for the Queen, and the religion by her established, compiled a learned answer to the Pope's bull against her; and had sent it over here to some of his correspondents, the Bishops. Which was taken exceeding well by them: and Cox, Bishop of Ely, assured him that the Queen should soon be acquainted with his good-will, and that she should have his book to read, and that it should be put into the press for common good. And in the month of September, the Archbishop caused it to be fairly bound and sent to her, and further procured the printing of it in Latin, not without the advice of the Lord Treasurer: and had it translated and printed in English too. The Latin, printed by John Day, had this title, *Bullæ Papisticæ ante Biennium contra Sereniss. Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginam Elizabetham, et contra inclytum Angliæ regnum promulgatæ, Refutatio, Orthodoxæque Reginæ, et universi regni Angliæ Defensio Henrychi Bullingeri* S.

St. Augustin properly alleged in the twenty-ninth article by him.

I cannot omit here the mentioning of an argument disputed between the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop, especially because it relates to one of the Nine and Thirty Articles of Religion, *viz.* the twenty-ninth article, *Concerning the wicked, that eat not the body of Christ.* Which was not among the Articles of Religion established under King Edward, anno 1552. Some, it seems, had raised a scruple of the sentence of St. Augustin, alleged there,

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put in for proof of it, by the Archbishop himself. And in the first draught of the Articles remaining in Bene't college, in the margin, against this Father's sentence, is the place thereof written by the Archbishop's pen, viz. *Super Joann. tract.* 26. The sentence was, "That although they [the "wicked] do carnally and visibly press with their teeth "the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet are "no ways partakers of Christ," &c. that it rightly and properly was cited to his purpose, he told the said Treasurer occasionally in a letter to him soon after; *viz.* "That he "was advisedly still in his opinion, concerning so much as "it was alleged for in the article. And that for further "truth of the words, besides St. Augustin, both he in other "places, and Prosper in his Sentences out of Augustin, "*senten.* 338 and 339, did plainly affirm this opinion in "that article to be most true: however, some men, he said, "varied from it."

It seems some Papists had been nibbling at this new article, and at the said allegation, and in discourse with the Treasurer had declared it to him. The Archbishop soon after being with the Treasurer, he had told him the cavil by word of mouth. Which running in his mind, the Archbishop being returned home, wrote what is above said.

The Archbishop repairs Lambeth house.

This year the Archbishop repaired and beautified his palace at Lambeth. The great hall he covered with shingles. He made entirely the long bridge that reacheth into the Thames. The famous solar [*i. e.* summer-house] in the garden, which Archbishop Cranmer made at his own cost, and therein used the exquisite skill and device of his Chaplain, John Ponet, D. D. (afterwards Bishop of Winton,) but now by length of time almost quite decayed, the Archbishop restored to its ancient form and beauty. He repaired also two aqueducts for the conveyance of water; one in the garden, and another for the common use of the household in the inner cloister. To which I add, what he did for the conveniency of his house the year following: when he made conveyances under ground, to cleanse and keep his house sweet, by sinks to carry away the filth into

Antiq. Brit. Matthæus.

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the Thames, by its ebbing and flowing. Which cost him no small sum of money: but tended much to the health of his family, and sweetness of his house.

Anno 1571.

Finishes the new street in Cambridge

The same year he finished the *new street*, or walk, from St. Mary's church in Cambridge to the public schools, and paved it, and caused a brick wall to be built on each side.

Confirms the Bishop of Sarum.

In the month of March at Lambeth he confirmed Edmund Ghest, Bishop of Rochester, and Commendatory of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, to the bishopric of Salisbury. And because the archdeaconry was now vacant, (which Archdeacon's office was to induct the new Bishops into the possession of their bishoprics,) he was inducted by the Archbishop himself, by his Proctors.

Consecrates the Bishop of Rochester.

The 13th of the same month, being the third Sunday in Lent, he consecrated John Freak, D. D. Dean of Salisbury, a pious, learned, and grave man, Bishop of Rochester. At which consecration were present and assisting, Robert, Bishop of Winton, and Edmund, Bishop of Sarum. He held, by dispensation from the Archbishop, the archdeaconry of Canterbury, as his predecessor had done, together with the rectory of Purleigh in Essex.

Dispensation to Dr. Whitgift. Ex MS. Eccles. Christ. Cant.

Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, and now Dean of Lincoln, for his learning, and opposing of the Puritan Cartwright, both in verbal dispute and writing, was well known to the Archbishop: who, to encourage him, (having further work for him to do,) gave him a dispensation, *ut cum decanatu de Lincoln. prebend. in ecclesia cathedr. Eliensi. custod. collegii SStæ Trinitatis in Cantabrigia, et rectoria de Teversham Elien. diocesios, quoddam beneficium tertium teneat* cum clais. permutand. *et residend. Dat. ult. Octob.* 1571.

And to Salisbury, Bishop of Man.

The like favour of dispensation was granted by the Archbishop to John, Bishop of Sodor, or Man: who held therewith the deanery of Norwich, the rectory of Thorp super Montem, in the diocese of Lincoln, and Dys, in the diocese of Norwich, and lastly, the archdeaconry of Anglesey.

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CHAP. VII. 333

Marlorate's Comment upon St. Matthew, printed in English. Contest between the Ministers of the Strangers' Church in Norwich. The Archbishop's concern therein. The Bishop of Norwich interposeth. He refuseth to institute certain scandalous Ministers. The Archbishop's directions to the said Bishop about some preachers.

Anno 1571. Marlorate's Comment in English recommended to the Clergy.

IT was usual nowadays to translate the Latin works and labours of good Protestant authors into English, for the better instruction of the honest people of the nation in sound religion and knowledge of the Scriptures; and especially the Clergy, who then were none of the best scholars; and scarce half of them understood Latin. So this year was printed a translation of Marlorate's Comment upon St. Matthew: and partly for the reimbursing of the proprietor, but chiefly for the profit and benefit of Ministers, the Lords of the Council appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to deal with the province of Canterbury, that each of the Clergy might purchase this book. Which gave occasion to Edwin, Bishop of London, to send this letter to Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich.

The Bishop of London to the Bishop of Norwich. E MSS. R. P. Joh. Ep. Elien.

"*Sal. in Christo.* Augustin Marlorate's Comment upon "Matthew is translated into English, a book very neces- "sary for all sorts of people, but especially for such as be "in the ministry. The Lords of the Privy Council willed "my Lord of Canterbury and me to deal with the Clergy "of this province for the having of them. We thought it "not convenient to compel men, seeing that the whole "charge lighteth upon those of the Clergy, whom we would "not gladly overburden. My request shall be to your "Lordship, to consider of the Clergy of your diocese, and "to entreat so many of them as be of good ability, for "to buy this book, the price whereof, being well bound, is "ten shillings, and four pence the carriage of it into the "diocese. And lest the owner should send down more

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"books than can be uttered with you, I shall pray you, "with such speed as you conveniently may, to send me "word how many of them you can bestow among the "Clergy of your diocese, or any other, and where they "may be conveniently delivered. And according to that "number, the books shall be conveyed down unto you. "And when you deal with any offenders, it were a good "part of penance for them to buy the said book, either for "their private use, or else to be laid in the church for the "common use. Thus expecting your answer, I bid your "Lordship farewel. From London, November 28, 1571.

"Your Lordship's in Christ,

"Edwin London."

The Bishop of Norwich's order thereupon.

In pursuance of this letter, the Bishop of Norwich sent to his Chancellor, Will. Master: who despatched letters, dated January 12, to every of the Bishop's Commissaries; certifying them, that the Bishop had willed him to direct his letters to them, requiring them earnestly and effectually to deal with the Clergy in their respective circuits, for the purpose above said; and to certify the Bishop, as soon as they could, how many of the Clergy were able, and upon this motion were willing, to buy the said book.

A contest in the Strangers' Church in Norwich.

334 In the summer of this year was the Archbishop also concerned in another matter in the same diocese. There had lately sprung up a great contest in the Dutch Strangers' Church at Norwich, about certain doctrines, which they could not decide among themselves, and occasioned great divisions and factions among them. The preachers in this Church contending, were Antonius, Theophilus, and Isbrand. These differences were made known to the Archbishop; who, out of his care for preserving peace and concord among Protestants, and especially in his own native city of Norwich, earnestly stirred up the Bishop of the diocese to look after this business, and to take some order in it, the Bishop being then at Ludham, and grievously afflicted with a disease in his leg. This his indisposition, and absence from Norwich, obliged him to manage this business

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by commission; of which he sent the Archbishop word, and promised him to inform him of the progress. To give some more particular account of this affair.

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They refuse the Bishop's jurisdiction.

The Bishop had granted to this Church a consistory, to determine and make orders, as well relating to their Ministers and members, as to other Church matters, but yet reserving to himself a power of superior jurisdiction in the government. By virtue of which power, upon these contentions arising in that Church, he issued a commission to Green, Mayor of Norwich, and to Masters his Chancellor, to take cognizance of their quarrel, and to make peace among them, and to proceed in his name, and to punish with banishment if there were cause. When they came to execute their commission, the Church would by no means submit to it; urging, that it was an intrenchment upon their government; and especially Theophilus and Antonius, who protested to depart the city rather than suffer it: though the Commissioners went not to the extent of their commission, to take cognizance of the quarrels among them, but only to enjoin them peace. They therefore urged to them on the other hand, that the business they had now in hand with them did not infringe their privileges, but related only to the temporal state, and was not a spiritual, but a more temporal concern. So that the matter came to this issue, that they must either obey the commission, or else suffer banishment, beside the exposing themselves to other penalties. For the Bishop's authority herein was struck at, which his Commissioners did hold themselves now especially bound to maintain. The Bishop understanding these proceedings by his Commissioners, did appoint, and that under his hand, that the Church should obey his commission, or otherwise, that the Commissioners should proceed, not only to punish the offenders by other ways, but also to decree their banishment. Which accordingly they did, requiring certain of them within two months to depart the city. But the gentle Bishop, it seems, relented, and sent to have the execution stopped. But the Commissioners stood to it; urging to him, that the honour of his see required it

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to be done, and that it was needful that those offenders should be sent away from the rest, the whole company depending on them.

One of their Ministers challenges to dispute.

In the mean time Theophilus made a great cry hereat, saying, it was against the word of God, a good conscience, and a reformed Church, and challenged to dispute it. The Mayor looked upon this as a great reflection, both upon the Bishop and himself, and the justice of their doings. And three of the Bishop's learned preachers being then in Norwich, *viz.* Dr. Walker, Dr. Gardiner, and Dr. Nevynson, he prayed the Bishop they might enter the lists with this vain challenger. But Dr. Walker brought word from the Bishop, that he would meddle no more in this matter. Which displeased the Mayor, who said it was suffering this man to pass with victory. But the prudent Bishop knew that this kind of ostentatious disputations was not the way to end controversies and contentions, but rather increase them. In the Appendix we shall find Green's letter to the Bishop.

Number LXIII.

They are banished.

The last issue was, that the Ministers of this Church, *viz.* Antonius, Theophilus, and a third, named Isbrandus Balkins, were all banished. Whereupon followed a pacification among the members. But such was the kindness of the Bishop, that not long after he gave to the last an ample testimonial under his hand and seal, of his learning and
335 godly conversation; and that notwithstanding the late contentions, he thought him worthy of the like charge in any other place which he had in Norwich. And we may see hereafter where he was placed.

The Bishop of Norwich will not accept of one to a second benefice.

The thrusting and crowding upon the Bishops for pluralities was a piece of importunity that created much disturbance to them in these times. If the person that craved a plurality was suspected in his religion, or ignorant, or scandalous, or simoniacal, or some time all these, the Bishop could not with a good conscience accept him. But then, what ill-will and trouble should he raise to himself from the party that was to enjoy the plurality, or the rich patron, or some potent man that made application in the Clergyman's

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behalf? So that either the Bishop must be frowned upon and threatened, or else the parish must have an unworthy man set over it; and as many souls as were therein miserably neglected. This was Bishop Parkhurst's case (among others) more than once. One or two instances whereof happened to him this year, which I will relate, because the Archbishop was concerned in it. Thomas Atkinson, a north countryman, and a well-willer to the late rebellion there, as he was popishly affected, so he was very ignorant, as the Bishop found by examination of him: he was Parson of Farnham All Saints, and was presented also to the benefice of Farnham Genefeva, by one Mr. Kitson. But the Bishop rejected him because of his ignorance and disaffection to religion, and for other reasons. Whereupon a double quarrel was served on the Bishop, and the matter was brought by Atkinson, or his friends, to the Archbishop. He was upheld by some great men, and he gave out that he would have the living, whether the Bishop would or no. The Archbishop wrote to the Bishop to know the reason why he would not admit him. Whereupon the Bishop sent up the examination of Atkinson, together with a letter, wherein he shewed the Archbishop, that there was further matter declared unto him of this man: which he added in a schedule enclosed.

The ignorance of this person;

But to set down here the just exceptions the Bishop took against this Clerk, as he represented them to the Archbishop. When the Bishop asked him his name, and he had answered Thomas, he bade him decline it, which he could not, though he pretended to understand Latin. The Bishop asked him the contents of the third chapter of Matthew; he answered nothing: and the contents of the eleventh chapter; neither could he answer that. He asked him, what *faith* was; he could not tell. He asked him, how many chapters the Epistle to the Romans contained, and what the subject of that Epistle was. To neither of these could he answer. And when he adventured to answer, he shewed his ignorance as much as by his silence. For he said, that in the First Epistle to the Corinthians were

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BOOK IV. but thirteen chapters, and in the Second twenty-six. Then the Bishop, to see how he stood affected to Popery, asked him, whether there was a purgatory after this life. He said, it was for higher learned men than he to answer that question. The Bishop perceiving him such an ignorant, was weary to talk to him any more. And seeing he knew nothing in the Scripture, he told him finally, he could not in conscience admit him to this second living. To which the Clerk in excuse of himself said, that every man could not be a text-man.

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And his evil manners.

His ignorance was not all; but the Bishop inquiring after the honesty of his life and conversation, he understood by persons of good credit, that his time was spent in bowling, dicing, carding, and such like games of wickedness. Besides that upon the Sundays and holydays after even-prayers, he was the best companion at *base*, *barleybrake*, and such like, with the maids and youth of the parish. He was made Priest in Queen Mary's days by Dr. Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle; and came out of the country without testimony, and served some time at Sparham near Norwich, under one Dixon, a wicked Papist. All this the Bishop let the Archbishop know for justification of himself, in the refusal of this Clerk for a plurality. And yet for such a wretch did some men of quality interpose with the Archbishop against the Bishop. Who thought that one living was sufficient, and too much for this blind guide, being worth 40*l.* *per annum:* which nevertheless he let out to a serving-man, and he became a servant to the same for twenty mark by year. So that the Bishop plainly wrote
336 to the Archbishop, that if there were nothing else but that he was known to be an enemy of religion, together with the stout brags that he made to recover it, whether the Bishop would or no, (wherein, saith he, I would be very loath to take a foil,) he thought it sufficient matter to discharge him. He subjoined, that if he might have his Grace's favour, he was determined to put this Clerk in hazard of both livings, wherein he had used some advice; being certain this stomach of his rose not of himself only, which

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nevertheless was full of northern blood, but of others that set him on; and the same no small ones, as he was persuaded; implying, that he should therefore have the greater need of the Archbishop's countenance. This I have related at this length, to leave it to be considered how illy served the Church now was with Ministers, and how corrupt the gentry, and averse to virtue, to prefer such unworthy persons to the cure of souls, and to side with them against the Bishops, discharging conscientiously their offices, for which they were set over the Church.

The Bishop of Norwich put into the Archbishop's Court; and why.

I shall here mention another passage of the same nature. The same Bishop of Norwich was complained of in the Archbishop's court; being brought into the Arches near about this time also, for refusing a Clerk presented by Hubbart, patron of the living of Morlay. The cause was this; Mr. Owen Hubbard, three weeks, or thereabouts, before the living fell into lapse, presented Sir John Norton, Priest, to the same, whom the Bishop refused, for that he was an infamous person. And Hubbard not presenting any after, upon the lapse the Bishop collated Dr. George Gardyner, a learned preacher, thereunto. When this case came into the Arches by Hubbart, plaintiff, the Bishop put in certain notes and articles there in justification of what he had done. And among many other things that he could certify concerning this Norton, (but spared them,) he chose only to touch at three, and they foul enough:

A scandalous Minister.

I. This Norton and a common harlot, with whom he was found in bed, had been carried through Norwich in a cart for their whoredom, to the shame of the ministry.

II. Within three years last past, the said Norton had been accused to the Judges of assize for a counterfeit licence he had given to a beggar. For the which the Judges awarded him to stand upon the pillory, and to leese his ears.

III. When Mr. Cod, an Alderman of Norwich, was dead, this Norton, being his servant, forged an annuity for himself of five mark by year; and set his master's seal unto it.

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After, when some suspected his falsehood in forging the same, he offered to sell the same to one Benet for ten shillings.

The Bishop of Norwich desires the Archbishop's advice.

There happened yet one thing more this year between the said Bishop of Norwich and our Metropolitan. Several preachers there were in this diocese, who, for their resolute non-compliance with the ceremonies, were now laid aside and discharged their ministry. Some of these offered the Bishop to preach to some congregations, where he should appoint them, if they might be so allowed, and promised not to meddle with matters of controversy. And whereas by reason partly of the putting out of these preachers, and partly of the want of ordained Ministers, to serve the cures of this great diocese, many churches remained void, the canons or injunctions made some provision; which was, that vacant parishes should resort to others that were supplied. But in some places the parishioners refused to repair to other parishes, saying they would provide persons to officiate in their own churches at their own expense. This occasioned the Bishop to address to his Metropolitan with two errands. The one was, Whether he did approve or no of the offer of the preachers before-mentioned? And the other, What was to be done with those that refused to go to the neighbouring parishes? In answer hereunto his Grace gave this letter to the Bishop:

The Archbishop to the Bishop of Norwich. E MSS. R. P. Joh. Episc. Elien.

"*Salutem in Christo.* Where your Lordship writeth, "that you would know mine opinion, partly for certain "preachers which be in your country; I take it, that neither "your Lordship nor myself can without great partiality "set them a work to trouble the commonwealth, and the
337 "state of good religion, whatever they talk. And there-"fore you may use your authority as you think good, not "meaning to write in their favour.

"And whereas you find by experience that some parishes "will not be brought out of their own parishes, being able "to find a sufficient Curate, I think they speak reason. For

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"it is not intended by our canons that every thing should "be so precisely kept, but for the most part, and as occa- "sion of edification should require. And thus I wish your "Lordship a prosperous year following. From my house "at Lambhith this 2. Jan.

Anno 1571.

"Your loving brother,

"Matthew Cantuar."

[CHAP. VII.]

The Archbishop gives away much plate to Bene't college, Caius college, and Trinity hall, and the Arches. Other gifts to those colleges. An Irenicum, anno 1353, *between those colleges. A letter of thanks from Norwich to the Archbishop. He sets forth Matthew Paris.*

LET me conclude this year with the mention of some kindnesses the good Archbishop shewed to his own college of Corpus Christi; as also his peculiar regard and benevolence to two other colleges in the same University, on account of their having some relation to one another, and to his native city of Norwich.

Procureth for his college a charter of mortmain.

July the 4th, 13. Regin. he obtained the Queen's grant to Bene't college to purchase to the clear value of 100*l.* besides all burdens and reprisals. And paid the charges for writing and enrolling; which was then 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* with other incidental charges.

Gives plate to three colleges, *viz.*

This year he also gave plate to a considerable value to the said college, and likewise to Gonvil and Caius college, and to Trinity hall; as I find in an inventory tripartite, dated August the 6th, 13. Regin. between Thomas Aldrich, Master of Bene't college, Dr. Caius, Master of Gonvil and Caius college, and Dr. Harvey, Master of Trinity hall; witnessing, that the Archbishop had given certain silver plate, to be kept and reserved within the said three colleges for ever, without any manner of alienation, impignoration, or

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transportation of any part of the same out of the said colleges; excepting it were under such conditions or cases as he had mentioned in a certain indenture tripartite thereof, made the 6th of August, 1569, 11. Regin. A *particular* of the said plate so given was as followeth, *viz.*

To Bene't college.

To the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi college,

One great basin with the ewer of silver, whole gilt, with the arms of the Archbishop, weighing 122 *oun. di.*

Item, One great standing cup with the cover, double gilt, weighing 53 *oun.*

Item, One great standing cup with the cover, whole gilt, commonly called *a Communion cup*, with the appertenances, 43 *oun.*

Item, One great salt with the cover, 40 *oun.*

Item, Two drinking pots pounced, whole gilt, with one cover, 24 *oun. qr. di. qr.*

Item, Thirteen spoons gilt, with knops of Christ and his twelve Apostles: for the use of the Master and twelve Fellows for the time being, weighing 26 *oun. qr. di. qr.*

Sum total is - - - - - - - - -	309 *oun.* 3 *qrs.*		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Which after 6*s.* 8*d.* is - - - - - -	103	6	3
After 7*s.* the *oun.* is - - - - - - -	108	9	4

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To Caius college.

To the Master and Fellows of Gonvil and Caius college, and their successors for ever,

One standing cup of silver with the cover, whole gilt, 40 *oun.*

To Trinity hall.

To the Master and Fellows of Trinity hall, and their successors for ever,

One other standing cup of silver with the cover, whole gilt, and of like fashion, 37 *oun.*

More plate by him given.

The Archbishop gave also this year to the said three colleges, at the ensealing of a deed testimonial, dated Feb. 1, 1571. more silver plate, as followeth, *viz.*

To Corpus Christi college, one gilt pot covered, weighing 16 *oun. qr.* So that he gave to this college in all 326 *oun.*

To Gonvil and Caius college, one standing cup, 40 *oun.*

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One gilt pot covered of the like fashion, 15 *oun. di.*

To Trinity hall, one gilt cup with the cover, of like fashion, 34 *oun.*

To the Arches.

One basin and ewer gilt and graven, for the use and behoof of the table and commons of the Arches in London, 70 *oun.*

One gilt pot covered, of the like fashion, 15 *oun.* 3 *qurs.*

Lastly, That I may here at once lay all his gifts of plate together. By the Archbishop's last will, as a legacy, he gave

To Gonvil and Caius college, one nest of gilt bowls, with a cover, all weighing 42 *oun. qr. di. qr.* And to their library twenty-six books.

And to Trinity hall, one other nest of bowls, silver, and double gilt, with their cover, 42 *oun. di.* and twenty-six books. Which legacies John Parker, Esq. the Archbishop's son and executor, accordingly made good.

A note upon the Archbishop's love to these colleges.

Here one may perceive by these gifts, that as Corpus Christi college had the primary place in the Archbishop's affections, and that deservedly, so the two other colleges were much in his esteem: insomuch, that he seemed to study to bestow his kindnesses so equally to these last, that it might appear he made no difference in his love and regard to them. And by these his respects to all three, that he endeavoured to unite the members of them together in close mutual affection. And for that purpose he once produced an old record of an *Irenicum* between Corpus Christi college and Trinity hall, which Will. Bateman of Norwich, and a Bishop of Norwich, Founder of both, very Christianly enjoined. Which our good Archbishop made use of for the same purpose, as shall be seen by and by. It was an indenture made anno 1353, between the Masters and Fellows of those two colleges, there called The Keeper and Fellows of the college of the scholars of the hall of the Holy Trinity in Cambridge, and the Keeper and Fellows of the college of the scholars of the hall of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary in the same town.

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Anno 1571. Irenicum between Corpus Christi and Trinity hall, anno 1558. MSS. Jo. D. Ep. Elien. Num. 757.

This indenture witnessed, *Quod dicti custodes*, &c. "That "the said Keepers and colleges, and all and singular the "Fellows of both colleges and halls, for them and their "successors for ever, with the consent and assent of the "reverend Father and Lord, Lord William, by the Grace "of God, Bishop of Norwich, Founder of both halls and "colleges, met together and agreed expressly, that all and "singular the Fellows of both halls and their successors for "ever, as most friendly brethren, proceeding from one stock "of foundation, will love one another, and friendly treat "each other; and in all and singular their necessities and "affairs to be done, when they shall be required, shall faith-"fully by all honest and lawful ways love one another, and "shall on one side and the other procure the profit and "honour as well of the colleges as the Fellows, which for "the time shall be, and not the contrary, as long as they "live. And to assist each other in their causes and busi-"nesses; and, being required, faithfully to counsel each "other what to do. And in all processions, inceptions of "Masters, in Masses, in the University sermons, and in all
339 "other public acts of the University, that they be present, "and go successively together along the streets: those yet "of Trinity hall, as the first-born brethren and more ho-"nourable, to go first, and in all public acts to have the "preference, except in respect of degree. And as a sign "of this mutual love, it was then agreed that they of both "colleges should wear the same garments, or at least the "same kind of hood, of the same shape and cut, as well in "the schools as without." This was dated at Cambridge, and signed and sealed by both colleges. And it had the solemn and formal approbation and ratification of the Bishop, dated at Newmarket in the eve of St. Matthew the year above, and the tenth of his consecration.

And this agreement the said Bishop did not only ratify and approve, but appointed and ordained as the statutes of each college incorporated, and perpetually and inviolably to be observed. And all and singular things so agreed and cove-

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nanted, he adjoined and added to the incorporate statutes of both colleges, and decreed them to have the force and vigour of the said statutes in all things: to which he set his seal. [CHAP. VII.] Anno 1571.

This old amicable instrument our Archbishop revived; and after the manner of the same agreement and covenant he exhorted to the same friendship, to be maintained between the three colleges.

Other benefactions of the Archbishop to Bene't college.

Now we proceed to mention other benefactions of the liberal and generous-hearted Archbishop to his college, settled this year also: namely, a provision for a fire in the common hall in the winter season; and for the increase of college commons, on some particular days, as when their statutes were to be viewed, and when the Masters of Caius college and Trinity hall should come to their college, according to the Archbishop's ordinance, to take a view of the books in the libraries of the college; together with other gifts, both to this of Corpus Christi and Caius college; as appears at large in an indenture following, made January 1, 1571, *quadripartite*, between the said Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Aldrich, Clerk, Master of Corpus Christi college, Dr. Caius, Master of Gonvil and Caius college, and Henry Harvey, Doctor of Laws, Clerk, Master of Trinity hall: witnessing, that the said Archbishop had paid Corpus Christi college at that time one hundred pounds. And for that sum did covenant and bind them to him and his successors, and to the two said Masters, to pay yearly out of the lands, houses, and other possessions of their said college, the sum of five pounds, to maintain a fire in the common hall at every dinner and supper, on Sundays, and such times as there was no wonted allowance by the college, from the first of November till the second of February: and to bestow after the rate of six pence for every fire: which was estimated yearly at the sum of four pounds. And about the 6th of August yearly, (the day of his birth,) at the view of the ordinances and foundations of the said most reverend Father, in any respect in the said college, for the increase of the diet and pittance then, and for the

An indenture specifying the same.

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BOOK IV. better entertainment of the two Masters of Gonvil and Trinity hall, at their common table in the hall, the sum of
Anno 1571. three shillings and four pence. And to either of the two Masters for their pains so taken, thirteen shillings and four pence; and for their coming every year, at or about the said day, to view the books given by the said most reverend Father, and contained within their two libraries.

And whereas John Pory, D. D. late Master of the said college of Corpus Christi, had given to John Baker, Gentleman, a lease of certain demesne lands in Landbeach in Cambridgeshire, with other things belonging to the said college, bearing date the last day of April, in the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Philip and Mary, paying for the same the old rent of eight pounds nine shillings and four pence: and whereas Henry Gotobed, of Landbeach, Gent. farmer of the said demesne lands, did now hold, pay, and should pay, for the term of certain years, over and above the said sum of eight pounds nine shillings and four pence, of accustomable rent, the sum of fourteen pounds eight shillings, improved, quarterly, to be paid by even portions: now the owner of the said lease, of mere good-will and favour towards the Master and Fellows, and Scholars of the said college, was contented, and agreed, that the said rent, improved, of fourteen pounds eight shillings, should be yearly distributed in the form following, *viz.* the Master of the said college to have thereof yearly, thirteen shillings and four
340 pence. Twenty Scholars, now founded and established in the said college, to have thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence, to be paid quarterly for the discharge of their tutorship, which is for every one thirteen shillings and four pence yearly. Two Students founded by the said Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the two said colleges of Gonvil and Caius college and Trinity hall, to have each of them twelve pence, and twenty pence to be allowed for the said two Scholars, and for seventeen Scholars of the new foundation, to the increase of their pittance at dinner. The clerk of the Chapter of Corpus Christi to have twenty pence, the butler twenty pence, the cook twelve pence, the

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under-cook eight pence. Which twenty-one shillings and four pence is to be paid yearly on the sixth of August, or within three or four days next before or after.

Further, whereas the said Master and Fellows of Gonvil and Caius college had received of the most reverend Father, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the sum of sixty pounds thirteen shillings and four pence; they covenanted and agreed, and bound themselves for ever unto the said most reverend Father and his successors, and to the Master of Corpus Christi, to find, support, maintain, and keep within their said college, one scholar or student, at such study first as shall appertain to physic, and after to physic itself: and to give and pay to him yearly, for his salary and stipend, three pounds and eight pence, without deduction of any part for his chamber or his domestical reading: to be chosen by the Archbishop, or (in the vacancy) the Dean and Chapter, out of the common school at Canterbury, and born within the said city, such as may be most fit for the study of physic.

And where the Master and Fellows of Trinity college or hall, have received of the said most reverend Father sixty pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, they covenanted likewise, and bound themselves to the said most reverend Father, and to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi college, from time to time, to find, support, maintain, and keep one scholar or student at the law; and to give, pay, and allow unto him for his salary and stipend, four pounds eight pence, without deducting any part thereof, either for his chamber or domestical reading. And when the room or place of that scholarship should be void, the said Master and Fellows of Trinity hall, at their choice, should elect, to supply the said room, any one of the Scholars of Corpus Christi (if any of those Scholars so would) which were sent thither by reason of one certain indenture thereof severally made, bearing date the 24th of June, 9. Eliz. Or else the said Master and Fellows of Trinity hall, to signify by their letters to the Mayor of Norwich the said room or place to be fallen void, and to require them to send one

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other within a month out of their school from Norwich to supply the same.

Anno 1571. Letter of thanks from Norwich to the Archbishop.

This, with other singular favours of the Archbishop towards the city of Norwich, the Mayor and Aldermen thought fit to acknowledge some months after, in an humble letter of thanks to him, when they had understood the same by Dr. Harvey, Master of the said college. Which letter was to this tenor:

MSS. Joh. D.Ep.Elien. Numb. 757.

"Most humbly our duty to your Grace premitted. "Whereas we have not only heretofore had your honour-"able favour and furtherance in cases touching the quiet "state of this city, and in bestowing and giving a piece "of plate for a continual memory, to go from Mayor to "Mayor; and in giving both fellowships and scholarships "to certain taken from hence, and placed in Corpus Christi "college: but also of late we have intelligence by letters "from Mr. Doctor Harvey, of your Grace's further liberality "in founding a scholarship in Trinity hall, to study the "civil laws. Which, as we have advertised us, is to be "taken out of our school, and to be nominated within one "month: for all which we yield unto your Grace our hum-"ble and lowly thanks. And likewise, since we do not "know the order of your Lordship's foundation for the "nominating of that Scholar, we are bold to desire your "Grace to have a copy of that foundation; whereby we "may the more strictly do according to your Grace's good "meaning. And thus being bold to trouble your Grace
341 "in dutiful wise, we do humbly take our leaves, committing "the same to the Almighty. From Norwich, the 6th of "July, 1572.

"Your Grace's humble at commandment,

"Robert Suckling, Mayor.
"John Aldrych, Alderman.
"Tho. Sotherton."

The Archbishop sets forth Matthew Paris.

In this year (after several years' pains) did our Archbishop set forth in print Matthew Paris, that learned Abbot

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of St. Alban's, his History, from several manuscript copies. The MSS. he made use of among others were, one of Sir William Cecil's, another of Mr. Anglionby's, and a third of Sir Henry Sydney's. The two former are now in the manuscript library of Bene't college. But the Papists charged the venerable publisher, as though he had changed some things in the edition; because that author was found to declare so freely the Pope's intolerable tyranny and exactions in those times. But Dr. William Watts, who published a new edition of this book in the year 1684, published also the various lections of it, according to the several copies: which will justify Archbishop Parker; and make it evident, that though this edition varied from one or two copies, yet he followed others, and, it is likely, they more correct, as is mentioned before.

[CHAP. VII.] Anno 1571.

Our Archbishop, Matthew, as he put forth this Abbot Matthew, so he put forth another Matthew, *viz.* Matthew Westminster. In the Preface before his edition of that, he speaks more concerning this Matthew Paris.

His pains about this edition consisted in considering and distinguishing what books Paris put forth, whereof he was the true and undoubted author; where he began his History, and how far he continued it: what faithful and ancient historians he followed, and when he left off writing. The copy of Sir William Cecil's, which he made use of, began at the year 1066, and proceeded as far as 1208, that is, to the tenth year of King John. He had also before him an ancient copy of Edward Aglionby, of Balshal Temple, Esq. as to the former part of this entire great history: which was continued from the beginning of the world to the year 1189. He had also an excellent copy belonging to Sir Henry Sidney: which proceeded from the before-mentioned year [*viz.* 1189] unto the year 1254. This MS. was writ, as Archbishop Parker saith, by Matthew Paris's own hand: but was foully maimed in some leaves, and erased in many places by some Friars; but was restored by some other copies. The Archbishop was further helped, as to the latter part, by

His pains therein.

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BOOK IV.

a fourth copy, belonging to Henry, Earl of Arundel; that is, from the year 1254. to the latter end of Henry III.

Anno 1571.

Nisi probra illa additamenta potius ejus, qui edidit, novatoris, hæretici hominis; quum peculiare sit illis, libros quos potuerint, depravare.

Isaac Casaubon, in his Prolegomena to his Exercitations upon Baronius's Annals, mentioneth Baronius's uncharitable censure of the publisher of Matthew Paris: "Unless those "reproaches are rather the additions of that novelist, a "heretic that published the book; since it is a peculiar "quality with them to deprave what books they can." I leave Casaubon in that place to answer this calumny against Protestants, of depraving authors: and most justly retorting that imputation upon themselves.

The Archbishop vindicated from an aspersion of Baronius.

But for the Archbishop's depraving this author, (besides the consideration of the man, such a lover of antiquity, and diligent restorer of it; and a person of such known truth and integrity,) the foresaid learned man shewed there were many copies of this book written; and these had those very passages in them of the rapines of the Popes, for which the sincerity of the publisher was called in question: and that he himself had in his own study a copy of this book in parchment, well writ, that came out of the King's library, of that antiquity, that he supposed it to be that very book that was dedicated by the author to the library of the abbey of St. Alban's. And that he had examined, and found no diversity in those things, wherein the covetousness and spoils of the Pope were spoken of. And lastly,
342 that there were other pieces of this author in some English libraries, not yet published, as the *Historia minor*, and concerning the lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's; in which the like or greater matters are related of the rapaciousness of Popes.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Archbishop prepares new statutes for cathedrals lately founded. Beza's letter to the Lord Treasurer for discipline. Lord Henry Howard committed to the Archbishop. A cause in All Souls college put over from the Queen to him. The Archbishop's resolution. Decides a matter between the Bishop of Lincoln and Ælmer the Archdeacon.

WE are now arrived to the year 1572, a year of much action, divided between the troubles the Papists on the one hand, and the Protestant Dissenters on the other, gave the Church of England. Both which factions still grew strong and increased, and became more formidable, undermining the foundation of the religion established. And we shall find our Archbishop as full of carefulness and solicitude, and diligence for prevention of any evils, as these times called for.

Anno 1572. A year of much action.

The Archbishop was now very busy in preparing new statutes for the cathedral churches, erected by King Henry VIII. For to this time they were either wholly without statutes, or made use of those old ones of that King, their founder. The Queen had issued out a commission to him, and some others, for the doing this. Which cost him, and those employed with him, a great deal of diligent conference, and long debate. And in the month of July they finished the book. The method in which they drew it up was this: there was first, the title of the statutes. Secondly, the words inserted of their commission. In the third place were set down the imperfections and reformations; and then the body of the statutes. Which was intended to be diversely considered to divers churches in their private statutes. He sent this draught by his Chaplain to the Lord Burghley, for him or any other to peruse, whom the Queen should appoint, and to make what reformation therein he or they should think meet, and to return the book again. And then they intended in the Queen's absence, who was

The Archbishop frames statutes for certain cathedrals.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572.

now ready to take her progress, to cause every particular book to be written with some fair hand in parchment; and so to sue to her Highness at her return for the subscription of her royal hand, that it might pass the Great Seal. Of which doings they had a precedent of the statutes of Durham church, sealed with the Great Seal, and signed with King Philip and Queen Mary's hands. They also prepared a book of the old statutes by King Henry: which was done in case any were minded to compare the same with what they had done. The Archbishop signified also to the said Lord Burghley, that he had sent his Chaplain with them, who was present at all their doings; that he might answer his Lordship, in case he desired any further notice concerning this affair.

But nothing further done herein.

But though, by the Archbishop's industry and care, all things were brought to this readiness for the Queen's own ratification by her authority and seal, yet nothing further was done. For I find above ten years after, *viz.* in the year 1582, Scambler, Bishop of Peterburgh, who had with others moved the Archbishop, (and the Archbishop accordingly had moved the Queen,) complained to her Majesty, that nothing was yet done in this needful matter. A great inconvenience that followed upon this was, that the 343 Prebendaries reckoned themselves not bound to residence, the cathedrals left in a manner void, no hospitality, preaching not so constant, nor so diligently performed as it ought to be, and the Bishop left destitute of the assistance of such who ought to be of his counsel. Which caused that Bishop to write to the Queen, in a well penned letter, urging her to confirm their statutes. Herein he shewed her,

Bishop Scambler's letter to the Queen in relation to these new foundations.

"That the foundation of a cathedral was to be a society of "learned men, apt to preach the Gospel, and convince "errors and heresies that might arise, and to assist the "Bishop in all wholesome consultations. Insomuch, that "the cathedrals ought to be the oracles of the whole dio-"cese. After the foundations of these places by King "Henry VIII. there were statutes sent down for the go-"vernment thereof, under his Majesty's name. And in the

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"first year of her Majesty there was a confirmation made "of these statutes by the Queen's visitors appointed for "that place, and the country adjacent. Whereby a long "time after this Bishop's coming to that see, he kept the "Prebendaries indifferently well in the duty of residence, "hospitality, and preaching the word. But of late years "those good offices were diminished, and at last almost "quite ceased. For the rectifying and reforming these "abuses, he let her Majesty know, that he had used all his "jurisdiction and authority, and extended it to his utmost, "and followed the severity of law in higher courts, but "found no good success. One great cause whereof was the "uncertainty of the authority of the statutes: the froward "and disobedient pretending that the statutes were of no "force; and that they stood at liberty to do, or not to do "the premises at their pleasure; because they were not "under the Great Seal, and indented. Wherefore he de-"sired of her, that that his church of Peterburgh (as all "the others that were of her father's foundation) might "not stand any longer doubtful; but that it might be de-"cided and determined by her sacred Majesty, under what "rules and orders they should live." The whole letter is not unworthy perusal, and therefore I have put it into the Appendix.

No. LXIV.

A plot to murder the Queen's Counsellors.

Herle, Barny, and Mather combined together in a dangerous plot, for the sake of the Duke of Norfolk, lately condemned of treason. Which was to murder certain of the Queen's chief Counsellors, and most affected to the Protestant religion, whereof the Lord Treasurer Burghley was one; and by that means to find a way for the said Duke's escape. But Herle discovered the rest; and they were executed; and that design came to light, and was prevented. Conspiracies and dangerous practices being thus hatching to deliver prisoners, a Parliament was called to provide against such things for the future. And what laws were made hereupon may be found in the statute book.

Beza congratulates the Trea-

The second of June was the Duke of Norfolk beheaded. And the sixth of July Beza, from Geneva, directed a con-

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Anno 1572. surer's escape. Ep. LXIX.

gratulatory letter to the Lord Treasurer; (for to him I make no question that sixty-ninth epistle was writ;) wherein he signified, "That he could not refrain himself from "testifying by his present letters, what joy they all con-"ceived there, and with how great earnestness they gave "thanks to God, when to the many other benefits he vouch-"safed this nation, they understood this new one had ac-"crued, namely, the Queen's deliverance from that extra-"ordinary and imminent danger; and not the deliverance "of her Majesty only, but of her faithful Counsellors, and, "in effect, of the whole English realm; being the chief "among truly Christian kingdoms, and the common refuge "of Christian exiles. And when this benefit did more par-"ticularly belong to him, [the Treasurer,] as being the man "against whom those profligate wretches aimed by name, "they did especially congratulate him herein, beseeching "God, that all the Churches of Christ might long enjoy the "fruit of so great a mercy."

Excites him to promote discipline in the Church.

Beza also took this opportunity, hearing that a Parliament was convented, in which a consultation was to be had concerning establishing religion, to write something to him concerning that affair, "partly, (as he wrote,) being well as-
344 "sured of his zeal towards the universal Church of God, "and partly, being confident, that however there would be "some that would accuse him of boldness, and a pragma-"tical humour, he, according to his singular goodness and "equity, would not dislike this his desire; since this was the "only thing he wished for, to see all the Churches every "where to be in the best manner composed and constituted "by the word of God. That as to faith or doctrine here "by public consent received, and by the Queen's authority "ratified, he thought there was none who understood aright "of these things, that embraced it not as true and certain. "But as to ecclesiastical good order, without which parti-"cular Churches seem not possible to stand long, no more "than a commonwealth, or any family without good and "certain laws; he would not dissemble it, how that there "were not a few that complained of divers things wanting

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" among us, not only profitable, but even necessary. That " when he said not a few, he meant not that morose sort, " whom nothing pleased but what was altogether perfect " and absolute in all respects, or those proud and impor- " tune persons, who thought nothing right but what they " themselves did or counselled: but he understood godly " men, learned men, and some as were not ignorant of these " things, and stood best affected to God's Church, yea, and " lovers of this nation, and that deservedly. If he added " what things they were which these men wished to be " added or changed, he could make answer, and so he " would, if the Treasurer were so minded, and whensoever " he should be so minded. But he thought it better then " to be silent, because he [the Treasurer] could best of all " perceive all these things, and he himself was unwilling to " be looked on as a curious prier into other people's mat- " ters, or too credulous: nor indeed was he one who could " easily judge of so great things. He added, it could not " be denied, but that Satan, in corrupting the ecclesiastical " discipline, took not less pains than in perverting the " Church's doctrine: so that not less care ought to be " taken for the restoring the one, than for the reformation " of the other: that since it was plain enough, that in most " places that diligence and care in the beginning was not " used that ought to have been, which was no wonder things " were come to that pass, that we had a purer doctrine in- " deed, but not better Churches than before: and that reck- " oned to happen to us, that anciently did to the Jews, that " our last was worse than the first. If England had not " yet felt this, God must be thanked greatly for it. But if " this evil had proceeded so far, it would be so much the " worse, by how much the later the remedy was applied. " That there was nothing the Queen's Majesty and her " faithful Counsellors should sooner think of doing than " this, as Esaias prophesied of her, calling Queens nurses " of the Church. That however great and difficult this " work was, yet they should undertake it with a surer

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"hope and greater alacrity: because that they would have "those very persons to be helpers, that were now in most "places hinderers. So that the whole matter seemed to "consist in deliberating, rather than in executing. For be-"sides, that he would not make any doubt of the learning "of the Bishops, and their good-will to the restoration of "the Church, England had by God's grace not a few "abundantly endued with all those gifts of God, which "were needful for a holy and prudent performance of it. "If they, together with the Bishops, to whom indeed espe-"cially, but not alone, that care belonged, would deliberate "hereupon, he did assuredly believe such things would fol-"low, whence other nations would take example. That "these things were much better known and understood "by his Lordship, and that he wanted neither will nor any "thing else to the bringing this business to perfection; and "therefore he would not further pursue it: since he per-"suaded himself his Lordship had not already begun, but "in a manner brought this good work to perfection." Thus did good Beza interpose here with this great Lord for discipline; but more than our Archbishop thanked him for, after all his care in settling so well the government of this Church.

The Lord Henry Howard under restraint with the Archbishop.

About the time the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded, his brother, the Lord Henry, of whom suspicions were, was committed to the Archbishop in custody: whom, not only for his honourable quality, but for his wit and learning he acquired by great diligence and long study in the University 345 of Cambridge, the Archbishop did shew all respect and honour to. And in July being solicited to write to Sir William Cecyl, now lately created Lord Burghley, to obtain his liberty; the said Archbishop seeing the Parliament then at a stay, did accordingly send a letter to the said Lord to be a means to the Queen, that he might have his desire: and so I suppose he had. This man proved afterwards turbulent, being of a stirring spirit, and laboured once to be made Archbishop of York, though his religion was sus-

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picious. But in the succeeding reign he came to great honour and authority; being made a Privy Counsellor, and Earl of Northampton: but concealing his religion till his death.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1572.

A contest between All Souls college and a Fellow thereof.

There happened now a matter, that declared again the Archbishop's unalterable and unbiassed integrity; that would not be moved from what he thought just, neither by Lord Treasurer, nor Court, no, nor the Queen herself. The case was this: One Henry Wood, a Fellow of All Souls college in Oxford, was minded to remain a Fellow in that college, and not to enter into Orders, though the statutes of the college ran contrary; which required that every Fellow, after the space of five years standing Master of Arts, should leave the college, or take upon him holy Orders. There was another statute, which enjoined that no Fellow should procure or accept any dispensation contrary to the statutes of the college. And to these statutes, among the rest, every Fellow gave his oath at his admission. Notwithstanding, this person, a young man, by his great interest with some about the Queen, who was now in her progress, obtained her dispensation and letter to the said college, to continue him Fellow, as student in physic, and to allow him not to enter into the ministry, according as he should have done by the statute. This letter moved not a little the Warden, named Robert Hovenden, and the Fellows of the college, to see such a violence used toward their statutes by the Queen, and to observe one of their own members so wilfully forswearing himself, that he might still abide among them; being also a person but of mean merit too. This put them upon writing their letters both to the Queen and the Lord Treasurer Burghley against him. Him they certified, that they could not comply with the Queen's dispensation of this Wood; that it would be prejudicial to their statutes, and a bad example; and that the man himself was not worthy of that favour, being one that was always factious and seditious. They desired him, that they might obtain of the Queen to use their statutes, as they had always done. And lastly, they related how he was perjured, by procuring and accepting those letters against the sta-

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tute; and withal sent the extracts of these their statutes inclosed. In their letter to the Queen, they tell her plainly, that by her letter in Wood's behalf, she had gratified a very unworthy man, little or nothing addicted to his study, one that had no regard to his oath, by which he was bound; and that she hurted hereby many honest men, who made great account of an oath. They desired her Majesty to consider what inconveniences would follow, *viz.* the violation of a college statute, the pressing the consciences of her Majesty's subjects of that college, and the stopping the course of religion; which would grow very cool, when the Fellows should hope by this example to obtain dispensations, not to take the ministry on them.

Committed by the Queen to the decision of the Archbishop.

The Queen, at some stand hereupon, committed the full hearing and reporting of this business, between the college and Wood, to our Archbishop. But Wood on the other hand made all the interest he could with the Lord Burghley. To him he got letters from divers of the best credit in the University, for the convenience of his placing in physic in that college. Insomuch that Burghley had wrote to the Archbishop in his behalf. To which letter the Archbishop answered, as not favouring his cause. Wood had moreover informed the said Lord, that he had waited upon the Archbishop, and that upon the allegations that he had made to him, when he was with him, he did not mislike his cause so much as he had done upon former information, which, it seems, the college on their side had sent up to the Archbishop. But all this was untrue: for he had not been with the Archbishop, nor had made any such allegation, as the Archbishop himself signified to the said Lord. But indeed a pupil of Wood's had been with him, to whom he shewed at that time his dislike of his tutor's matter. And the Warden being then in Town, he bade the said pupil, or Wood
346 himself, to come to him again, and he would hear the case, and intended to give his resolution of it. But neither of them came, as mistrusting their cause. But they plied the Lord Treasurer so close, that they got other letters from him to the Archbishop. In fine, he was not to be moved by any

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solicitations against the equity of the cause; and shewed a most inflexible resolute mind in a just matter. For the result of his judgment was, "That Wood had stept into a "manifest perjury, to sue for any dispensation against the "Founder's ordinance, willing them all to be inclined to be "Priests, and at convenient time to take the same Order." He considered also, "how much the college was now "warped from this good institution;" saying to the Lord Burghley with some concern, "That they were so much now "offended with the ministry, that of forty such Fellows "in the house, there were but two Priests. And whether "they were a good example to the University, for men to "run into open perjuries, and whether it were good to the "governance, that so few Priests, and preachers especially, "in the University should be; he left that to her Majesty's "consideration, and the Lord Treasurer's wisdom." He added, "If her Highness would take it upon her conscience "to break such ordinance, he referred it to her Majesty. "Besides, this cause, he saw, touched more inconveniences "that would follow, both in this and in other colleges, if "this were won by importunity. But as for himself, he "professed he could not bear with it in reason, praying "his Lordship not to be offended with this his writing." And so wished her Majesty, and all of them, to return well home again.

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1572.

The Archbishop's judgment.

August 17.

What the issue of this business was, I know not; only I find the Warden soon after coming before the Lord Treasurer, being summoned up by the Queen's order, I suppose, to hear his reasons for disobeying the Queen's letter. And fearing how he should succeed there, he got the Archbishop to give him a letter in his favour to the Treasurer; wherein he prayed his Honour to be good to that honest young man (as he called the Warden) in the case of that college, as of certain other colleges in that University, [whose privileges and welfares depended upon the issue that this particular case would find,] and that he himself had writ in that matter, as he thought convenient.

Writes in behalf of the Warden of All Souls.

August 25.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572.

Decides a controversy between the Bishop of Lincoln and the Archdeacon.

Near about this time also did our Archbishop, with the assistance of the Bishop of Winton, make up and compromise a long and stiff debate between Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, and Ælmer, Archdeacon of the same, about the exercise of their spiritual jurisdictions, the bounds and limits whereof were contended betwixt them, and the fees and benefits arising. At length either party committed the final determination of their controversies to the said Archbishop and Bishop, promising to acquiesce therein. And it was to this purpose; *viz.*

That the Bishop of Lincoln's Vicar General in spirituals, or Commissary, and the Official of the Archdeacon of Lincoln, held their courts together, either within the church of St. Mary's, Lincoln, or in the said city, every week (excepting the festival weeks) in the same time and place; and there hear, handle, and decide causes, and take the proofs of wills and testaments of such as die within the archdeaconry, and commit the administration of the goods of such as die intestate, according to the statutes of the realm; and, in fine, exercise all manner of spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction: collation of ecclesiastical benefices, admissions and institutions of Clerks, deprivations only excepted; which were reserved to the Bishop and his Vicar General: reserving also to the Bishop the power and authority of nominating one sequestrator only in the said archdeaconry of Lincoln, to be concerned in the fruits of benefices vacant, and in the goods of persons intestate. Yet so, that the Official and other Ministers of the Archdeacon may be present, if they will, at all such sequestrations so to be made.

That out of the fees and profits arising and issuing from the exercise of such jurisdiction, the necessary expenses of the Archdeacon, on account of his visitation, be defalked, and allowed to the said Archdeacon, and his officers, from time to time.

That all fees and profits arising from proofs of wills, &c. be equally divided between the Bishop and the Archdeacon by equal portions.

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That as often as the Bishop of Lincoln, from three years to three years, shall visit his church, city, and diocese, the said Bishop shall receive all and singular the fees, profits, and emoluments, for proof of wills, insinuations, commissions, administrations of goods of intestates, &c. in the archdeaconry for three months. That besides and beyond the fees, profits, and commodities reserved to the Bishop, as before, the Archdeacon shall yearly pay to the Bishop or his assigns 33*l.* of good and lawful money of England, of ancient custom due to the Bishops of this diocese, in the name of *prestations*, besides the arrears of such prestations as are already due. And the Bishop and his Vicar General in spirituals, to pay and satisfy all arrears of fees and profits withheld, due to the Archdeacon and his Official.

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And that if there arise any doubt or ambiguity in or about the interpretation or true understanding of the present ordinance, or any part thereof, hereafter; that in that case the said Archbishop and Bishop might interpret, explain, and declare it. And both parties to stand to such interpretation and declaration without any contradiction or reclamation. This instrument, which I transcribed out of the Paper Office, I have reposited in the Appendix. Num. LXV.

CHAP. IX.

Admonition to the Parliament, a book now in great vogue for a new discipline. Beza's and Gualter's letters added there. Bishop Cox's letter to Gualter; and his answer: and Bullinger's Letter to the Bishop of Winton on this point. Gualter dedicates his Homilies upon the Epistle to the Corinthians to the English Bishops. His thoughts of the rites and customs of churches. A Popish bull in Spanish brought to the Archbishop.

THE Puritans, by the connivance and secret favour shewn them, grew apace, and improved in their principles against the established Church. For they now condemned the calling of Bishops, as Antichristian; and the present Bishops, as a remnant of the Antichristian brood: and were for throwing

The Archbishop lays in wait for the press that printed the Admonition;

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BOOK IV.

down the whole constitution of the Church of England, and setting up another different discipline in the room thereof, under pretence of restoring the right Gospel government. A full account of whose principles, doctrine, and desired reformation of the Church, appeared in a book, called, *An Admonition to the Parliament;* directed to them to redress the pretended abuses of the English Church, as they are in that book declared, according to the model there laid down. Of this book Thomas Cartwright, lately of Trinity college in Cambridge, was the chief author, though there was (as it was thought) a club concerned in the composing thereof. This Admonition had now by this time been printed and reprinted privately no less than four times, (in such a vogue it was,) notwithstanding the diligence of the Bishops to suppress it. The last time, which was this year, it came forth with additions; a copy whereof the Archbishop sent to the Lord Treasurer, and he, with other of the ecclesiastical Commissioners, writ letters to the Lord Mayor, and some Aldermen of London, to lay in wait for the charects, printer, and corrector. But the Archbishop was jealous that they deceived him, as being not willing to disclose this matter. But when they could not otherwise stop the book, they hindered the spreading of the seditious principles thereof, by setting on work the very able and learned pen of Dr. John Whitgift, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in answering it. Of which we shall speak more hereafter.

Anno 1572.

And employs Whitgift to answer the book.

348 In this Admonition the authors had printed a letter of Beza, and another of Gualter, wrote as it seemed in their behalf: intending thereby to shew, that they had the approbation of two famous foreign reformed churches, namely of Geneva and Zurich. The true occasion of which letters was this:

Beza and Gualter's letters printed in the Admonition.

The discontented brethren in 1565, or 1566, thought it convenient to certify the foreign Churches of the transactions then against them. And for that intent they despatched two of their party, whereof I strongly suspect George Withers (of whom before) to be one, to Geneva

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and Helvetia. Being arrived at Geneva, they filled Beza's ears with grievous accusations of the Bishops' dealings with the Ministers. The good man, commiserating their condition, upon their agent's desire at their departing, gave them his letters to Gualter, and the learned men of Zurich; who, they well knew, had a good interest with our Bishops; in which letters exciting them to do their endeavour to help the afflicted state of England, and further exhorting Gualter for this purpose to take a journey into England. When they were come to Zurich, they delivered their letters, declaring unto Gualter, and the other Ministers there, the same that they had done at Geneva. And moreover, they set down in writing a great many errors and superstitions, then, as they asserted, used and maintained in England; and that all such as would not consent thereunto were deprived of their ministry. They complained here, that many things were coined by superstitious and ambitious courtiers, and the Bishops became the ready executors thereof: which (as they said) troubled them most of all. These, however untrue, reports made such an impression upon them, that Gualter hastily composed and sent a letter to his old friend Bishop Parkhurst, who had sojourned four years at his house at Zurich; and therein he somewhat sharply blamed him, and the rest of the Bishops, for pressing such indifferent things, and punishing so heavily those who complied not with them. Of this letter several copies were taken, Parkhurst making it more common than the writer intended he should, so that falling into the hands of the Puritans, they printed it with one of Beza's, in the said book, called *The Admonition*, in justification of themselves.

Bishop Cox's letter to Gualter, and Gualter's answer thereupon.

Whereat Cox, Bishop of Ely, one of the ecclesiastical Commissioners in this year 1572, (which was not long after the publishing of the letter,) thought fit to expostulate with Gualter upon the contents of what he had writ; relating withal truly and fairly the state of the controversy between the Bishops, or rather between the realm, and these men. To which Gualter on the 9th of June answered, "Thank-"ing him for his friendly admonition and charity, in cor-

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"recting the errors of one imposed upon by others; excusing himself for what he then wrote, both in respect of the time when, the causes for which, and the person to whom he wrote what he did. He said, that at that time letters on both parts were sent to them almost every day, when that unhappy controversy of the habits was set on foot. That for their parts they advised the adversaries not to stir up contention in the Church for matters of no moment, thinking the thing had been after laid asleep. He little thought, he said, that Bishop Parkhurst would have published his letter abroad, for he only desired to hear his advice; that Parkhurst indeed answered him not, but one Abel wrote to them, and had cleared the Bishops of all blame. He prayed Bishop Cox to make his excuse to others, into whose hands that letter should come; adding, that since that time, which was six years ago, they of Zurich had had nothing to do with those *vain brawlers*, as he styled them, nor had any letters at all passed between them. That soon after it appeared to them what they went about, when men of the same principles with them, under pretence of ecclesiastical discipline, (the chiefest whereof they would have to consist in excommunication,) had been the authors of great troubles and changes within the county Palatine. Praying the Bishop once more not to have any sinister opinion of him, who bore a singular affection to the English nation, and that ere long he would set forth a public testimony thereof. And that he would never have sent his only son into England, [which he did the last year,] except he were truly persuaded of their consent and agreement." That *public testimony*, which he promised to set forth, was his epistle before his Homilies upon the First Epistle to the Corinthians; of which by and by.

349 Bullinger to the Bishop of Winton.

And as Gualter had thus disowned the Puritans of England, so also did his fellow-pastor Bullinger, in a letter wrote the same year, 1572, March 12, to another Bishop and ecclesiastical Commissioner, *viz.* the Bishop of Winton. "As he rejoiced that God had given our Church such an

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"excellent Princess, as Queen Elizabeth, for the propagating the Gospel, so he expressed much grief, that there were a sort of men among us, that, by their unseasonable contending about indifferent things, put such obstacles in the way of the reformation, and made a schism in the Church. He shewed, how such were in their Church at the beginning of their reformation, who thought nothing pure enough; and thereupon separated themselves, and set up conventicles: and this begat various sects and schisms. But afterward their hypocrisy and disorder came to be known, and they soon vanished and came to nothing." Both these letters are put in the Appendix; and were in Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition.

Number LXVI. LXVII.

Gualter sets forth homilies upon the Epistle to the Corinthians.

About the autumn of this year did Gualter, that learned man now mentioned, publish ninety-five homilies upon the former Epistle to the Corinthians; and out of his honourable regard to those English Bishops, his acquaintance, that had formerly been exiles, and for the most part sojourned at Zurich, he dedicated those his exercitations to them: namely, Grindal, Archbishop of York; Sandys, Bishop of London; Horne, Bishop of Winton; Cox, Bishop of Ely; Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich; and Pilkington, Bishop of Durham. In his prefatory epistle to them, his argument ran chiefly of the unity of the Church: wherein he shewed, that none ought rashly to depart from its society for the vices of any that lived in it. On which pretence many Anabaptists, and others, had departed from the Protestant Churches in Germany, Helvetia, and elsewhere. Herein he took occasion to speak of such as disquieted the unity of the reformed Churches, and mentioned some that complained of the diversity of rites, and would separate from the Church for it. It offended them, or it seemed so to do, that some children in baptism were dipped, and others only sprinkled: that some used shorter prayers, and some longer. That in most churches, both men and women went up to the communion-table at the celebration of the Sacrament, to receive the elements from the hand of the Minister; and that in some churches it was brought to the

Dedicated to the English Bishops.

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communicants sitting in their seats, and they distributed it among themselves. That it was more frequently used with some, and with others but three or four times in the year. Some thought it blame-worthy, that there were not in all churches vessels of the same form and matter; but some were of wood, some of glass, some of silver, some of gold. That some again there were that moved unnecessary contests of the habits of Ministers; and went so far in it, that for that cause they were not afraid to condemn grave men, and that had excellently well merited of the Church and common cause of religion. Of this last matter these were the said learned man's thoughts in the said epistle. "Of "the garments of Ministers in ancient time there was no "controversy, in that it was free for all to use that habit, "which according to the custom of the country seemed "most sober and decent. Walafrid, who lived in the year "700, affirmed, that the ancients used a common garment, "but clean. At length they began in their service to use "a white garment, yet without superstition. Whence St. "Hierom against the Pelagians, who condemned any "kind of handsomer clothing, as contrary to God, wrote "thus; 'What contrarieties are they against God, if I "shall wear a cleaner coat? If a Bishop, Priest, and Dea-"con, and the rest of the ecclesiastical order, in the admin-"istration of the sacrifices, go in a white garment?' But "luxury and pride increased in aftertimes together with "superstition. That as they offended in an immoderate "adorning of their temples, so the Bishops, and other Min-"isters of the Church, vaunted themselves with no less soft "and costly than superstitious habit, and such as was set "out to a dissembled shew of sanctity. Which as all godly "men do deservedly condemn, so none of a sound mind, "and that love peace, can approve their moroseness, who, "while they can bear nothing that differs never so little "from the vulgar habit of any nation, do disturb all with "contests that are not at all necessary, and draw the
350 "Churches into parties, not without the most danger-"ous scandal. These, while they are afraid of every thing,

His judgment of the habits;

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"bring themselves and the Churches in the greatest and "most harmful hazards. And it comes to pass for the "most part, which Socrates spake of the Novatians, Euno-"mians, and others the like, that they who have once made "a departure from the Church, afterwards they themselves "are divided among themselves: nor is there any end of "sects and dissensions. And therefore St. Augustin writ-"ing to Januarius, when he had expounded several rites of "the Churches, which were observed in his time, thought "this the safest rule for Christians, 'If in those things "which might be done without breach of faith and godli-"ness, men accommodated themselves to the Churches, "whither they came." This was the sober sense of the learned men of that Helvetian Church, concerning this controversy, so much stirred in the English Church at this time.

And of the discipline.

And concerning the *discipline* so much also contended for by some, which was in truth for the ministry to have a power to excommunicate the greatest that should not comply with them and their orders; thus did Gualter, in that book before mentioned, deliver his judgment, calling the Anabaptists in Germany by the name of Donatists, because they separated from the Church on this account. "They "did rashly condemn, said he, whole cities and nations in "which the word of God was preached, the sacraments "rightly administered, public prayers celebrated, the poor "plentifully taken care of, wickednesses forbidden and pu-"nished by good and wholesome laws. All this they look "upon as nothing, unless a certain new magistracy were "constituted, which might have a right even over princes "themselves, not only to reprove them, but to excommuni-"cate them also. But he wished they were able but to "produce one example for it, out of either New or Old "Testament."

Hom. LVI.

A Spanish bull falls into the hands of the Archbishop.

About this time, one brought the Archbishop a Popish bull in Spanish, printed. Which, he was informed, a certain Spaniard, as he was going to his execution, drew out of his bosom, as long worn there. By the which, he had

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BOOK IV. confidence [using it as a charm or spell] that he should never come to such a death. Probably he had bought it of some of

Anno 1572. the Pope's higglers at a good price, who had promised him, upon some slight matters to be done by him, and paying such a sum of money for it, he should be secure never to come to the gallows. And this, no question, made him the bolder to commit any villany. But now, when he found himself deceived by these men, he cried out of them, as breaking promise with him; and furthermore, required of the people there, that if any were present, that could instruct his conscience to die better to God-ward, that his soul might be in better surety of salvation, he earnestly requested it. This bull being taken up, was at last brought to our Archbishop. He remembered not in what parts beyond the seas this execution was done. But he delivered it to be secretly translated by a trusty person; and when it was done, he sent it to the Lord Treasurer to see it, and make an observation of the pious frauds of the Romish Church practised upon the people.

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CHAP. X.

The massacre at Paris. The Pope's jubilee for it. The Archbishop's consternation; and judgment of it; and his secret letter to the Lord Treasurer thereupon. Apprehends danger of the Queen's life from Papists. Orders to the ecclesiastical commission to look to them. His apprehension of Puritans. The Vidam of Chartres escapes from the massacre. His letter for the Queen to revenge it. The Archbishop's private but free speech concerning the Queen's favour to Papists: and her too much security. Papists impudent. His thoughts thereof.

The Parisian Massacre. NOW happened the horrible and most treacherous massacre of the Protestants at Paris, and in other parts of France; being the Papists' bloody solemnization of the marriage between Henry of Navarre, and Margaret the

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French King's sister. Which the Papists assuredly conceived to be a main step to the complete restoration of their religion, and the extirpation of heresy. And the truth is, they thought, that by this conspiracy they had gained the point absolutely against the reformed. For the Spaniard and Pope were in this plot, as well as the French. And it was to be carried on in other countries and nations, *viz.* the Low Countries, Germany, and England, as well as in France, for the rooting out of the religion. And of this massacre, such joy and triumph was among Roman Catholics, that Pope Gregory XIII. issued out his bull for a jubilee, to be observed on the seventh day of December, the second week of Advent, as for divers causes, so for this especially: for the victory of the Christians against the Turk, for the conservation of Flanders, for the election of the King of Poland, who favoured the Roman Catholic faith: but the first and chief cause was, for the happy success of the Most Christian King against the heretics. The which jubilee began thus: "That our holy Father, Pope "Gregory, having been lately advertised, that our Lord "God, who manageth the hearts of kings and princes "as it seems good to him, had magnified his great mercy "towards the Church, in that he had raised up his most "dear son in Jesus Christ, Charles IX. the Most Christian "King of France, to revenge the injuries and outrages "committed against God and the Catholic Church by the "heretics, called Huguenots, and to punish the principal "heads of the rebellion, who in these years past, with a "bloody and implacable rage, by murders, thefts, sacri-"leges, and ravages, had troubled, pillaged, and devoured "the most flourishing and opulent kingdom of France. "For this cause he, being accompanied with the college of "his Lords the Cardinals, in the church of St. Mark, at "Rome, with the greatest devotion possible, rendered "thanksgiving to God, the Creator, for this great mercy "towards his Church; praying him to give grace and vir-"tue to the said Most Christian King, to pursue so salutary "and blessed an enterprise; and to purge his realms, for-

The Pope's jubilee for it;

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"merly so religious and catholic, among all nations, from "all heresies; and to bring back and restore the Catholic "Church in its integrity and ancient splendor." But I refer the reader to the Appendix, where he may meet with the whole jubilee, printed on a great sheet of paper, in the French language. Being put, I suppose, into that language, the better to justify that King's doings before his subjects, who might otherwise very well boggle in their minds at such an action. But when they should see the Pope himself so well to allow of it, it was presumed this would be a sufficient cloak for the bloody fact.

Number LXVIII.

And the news thereof sent into Germany.

This bull I met with among the Lord Burghley's papers; as also another paper of the same subject, being a Latin manuscript of *news*, wrote in October, by some great man. Which I have also added in the Appendix. It is endorsed by Burghley's own hand thus: *October* 1572. *Scriptum missum in Germania, contra Protestantes.* The contents of which is, "How that Charles, the Cardinal of Lorrain, "writ to the French Ambassador in Germany, that not only "France, but the whole Christian world, had received an "incredible benefit; and that he was extremely glad that "his family, [*viz.* that of Guise,] chiefly was the minister "of so glorious an action, by the singular favour of God. "That it was confirmed, as a thing certain, that this con-"spiracy was made, especially by the same Cardinal's "pains, between the Pope, the French, and the Spaniard. "That the French should slay the chief of the Huguenots, "in the Navarre marriage, and in the whole kingdom. That "he should assist D'Alva according to his power in exter-"minating the Dutch rebels. That the Spaniard should "restore the kingdom of Navarre to the French. That he "should help the same King's brother in seizing on the "kingdom of England. And lastly, that all the confederates "should join their strength and wealth to extirpate the "heretics of Germany, and to constitute a new form in all "that empire, according to the prescript of the Pope. That "many did extol the King, even to heaven, and said, that "he obtained a greater and more illustrious victory, than

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"the confederates the year before obtained against the "Turk. Inasmuch as they, who could not be beaten by "any force or arms, were oppressed by counsel and pru-"dence. That they had eminently consulted, not for the "single kingdom of France, but the whole Christian world, "that there were hopes that, the heretics being every "where exterminated, that ancient dignity and splendor "would be restored. And that concerning England, the "matter was easy: in which kingdom there were so many "Papists, that if they should see any assistance from abroad, "they would take up arms for the destruction of the Queen "and the heretics. And that the Queen, struck with this "fear, would recall her people out of the Low Countries; "or at least would not send any more soldiers thither. "That it was written, that at Rome the Pope and Cardi-"nal were very busy about bringing the French and Belgic "affairs to a wished for end; and that there was very great "hope, and so they did certainly persuade themselves, that "either now, or never, the Pope's kingdom would be re-"stored to its ancient dignity, by these two Kings of Spain "and France, the heretics being every where rooted out, "or so certainly oppressed, that they should never after "dare to stir. And that there was a very unanimous con-"sent among the Papists for the destruction of the here-"tics, and very great force also to do it. And that the Pope "hoped, and the Cardinals, and men of the holy Order "did earnestly desire, that the joy conceived upon the late "slaughter in the French marriage might be amplified by "some new destruction." There is much more concerning the reducing of Germany: but I will not stuff up these sheets with it, but refer the reader to the paper itself; which seems by the hand to be sent by Mount, the Queen's agent in Germany.

The Archbishop in great apprehensions upon it.

Upon this sad slaughter, and the deep and strong laid plot in which it was contrived, the minds of the wisest and best men here sunk into great consternation. The Lord Burghley professed to some of his friends, that "he was at "his wits end." And they expected nothing but some such

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terrible thing to happen here at home, both to the Queen and her truest subject. Our Archbishop reckoned upon it, and gave over himself as a man to be carried away with the floods, as he told a friend. And that which aggravated the fears of the impending misery was, because the Queen was strangely secure of her worst enemies, the Papists; and shewed them much favour, having many friends at Court; the government neutral; the Queen's best Protestant subjects but little regarded, the Bishops discouraged and checked in the discharge of their offices. Of such matters as these, the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop privately complained to one another in secret letters, written by their own hands, and without date and subscriptions. The Archbishop said, "This case of murder was not only lamentable "and detestable, but *ominosum*. That he had marked the "state of this neutral government, and that he looked for "no other end but that which was very likely. That he "had framed himself to be carried away with the floods, "when they should arise. This Machiavel government, "he said, was strange to him, for it brought forth strange
353 "fruits. As soon was the Papist favoured, as the true Pro-"testant. And yet forsooth, said he, (repeating the reproof "of some against him,) my lenity doth mar all. When the "true subject, as he goes on, is not regarded, [meaning "himself, and such as he,] but overthwarted: when the "rebel [meaning the Papists] is borne with, a good common "wealth, *scil.* when the faithful subject and officer hath "spent his wits to search, to find, to indite, to arraign, and "to condemn; yet must they be kept still for a fair day, "to cut our own throats: [reflecting upon the French "massacre.] Why is Barker spared? [Who, I suppose, was "a convicted Priest.] Is this the way to rule English peo-"ple? But it deserves to be counted clemency. O cruelty, "saith he, to spare a professed enemy, and to drive to the "slaughter herself and her best friends. O subtle dissi-"mulation of the enemy. For himself, he said, truly he "delighted not in blood. Yea, that if he had not been "bound so much to the mother, [Queen Anne Bolen he

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"means,] he would not so soon have granted to serve the "daughter [Queen Elizabeth] in that place. And that if "he had not well trusted to have died ere this time, their "Honours should have sent thrice for him, before he would "have returned from Cambridge.

"Alas! my Lord, saith he further, in this secret letter, "ye see, and have seen a long time, what they seek. Think "ye, men mark not your governance [at Court?] Think "you not, that it is perceived, that when her Majesty hath "truly determined and spoken, ye overthrow what is pur-"posed? Let us [Bishops] be quite out of estimation, and "of no credit. And let us (if we can do any thing to co-"lour other) be objected to envy, be put in peril, yea cast "away. Think ye, that this way, you among yourselves "shall escape? Oh, my Lord, is it glory, riches, or life, "that I seek in this cause? Shall I now in this age dis-"semble, and stand in fear, and not of God? *qui potest et "animam et corpus perdere in gehenna.* No, I could be "better content to live for myself with one man only, than "with forty. I see and hear of the market folks only how "the game goes. [So common and vulgarly known was it "how things were managed, and in favour of enemies.] I "must needs reverence your great pains, wit, and diligence, "[speaking to the Lord Treasurer,] I must needs confess "the princely heart of her Majesty. But I fear, *Qui te "beatum dicunt, ipsi te decipiunt.* I see honour and glory "is daily sought. I pray God send plenty thereof. But I "see that this cause is supernatural in God's hands. His "wrath is deserved, &c. *Ille Deus, in cujus manu sunt "corda principum,* will arise, and in the mean time harden "her heart to work his purpose, and prevent deserved "vengeance on us and our posterity. For my earnest "zeal, and my manifold duty sake, I fear her Highness "shall be strangely chronicled; and I would it were "amended. I have and will pray: nought else can I do; "but continue *in silentio et spe.*"

His counsel to the Lord Treasurer,

One thing in this hurlyburly he prayed his Honour that he might speak to him. And that was, that he was in-

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formed credibly, that in some of his letters he professed, "he "was at his wits end;" whereupon he gave him this seasonable counsel: "Sir, however it be, saith he, let the world "know no such thing. Some friends be not secret. Blaze "they will, to win credit. Now or never we must set out a "good countenance. And surely so I comfort such faithful, "as come lamentably dejected to me. We shall never be at "peace and quiet, till that *homo peccati* have that is justly "deserved, [punishment, he meant, to be inflicted upon "Popish traitors, or perhaps upon some particular person.] "*In mora periculum.* French princes will dissemble and "deceive, to win their purposes, [reflecting upon Charles, "the French King's deep dissimulation with the Protestants, "for the bringing about that massacre; and therefore, that "we should not easily trust him.] *Det Deus tibi intellectum.* "And finally, he prayed his Lordship not to be angry with "him. *Nam aliquando*, saith he, *et olitor opportuna lo-"quitur.*" And so ended without subscription of name or date.

The insolent behaviour of the Papists at home.

Now therefore the great labour at Court was, to open the Queen's eyes, and to make her apprehend her danger from the Papists; and that she might give forth her commands to search for them, and to take them up, and execute laws against them. For the Papists had secret fautors within
354 the palace walls, and were slyly encouraged by some persons, who outwardly pretended otherwise. And they were very confident, and well stored with armour in their own possessions. They were full of spite also, and secret malice. Their *imps*, to use the Archbishop's own expression, were marvellous bold, and flocked together in their talking places, as he was informed. And they rejoiced much at this unnatural and unprincely cruelty and murder. And he had intelligence of some that would not spare to utter their rejoices, and to say, that of long time they looked for such slaughter at home. And some of their written books he had gotten; wherein they went about in large writing to set out their desires, and made their conclusion, *Quod heretici morte sint plectendi.* Whereupon our Archbishop

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was in great apprehension of the Queen's safety, being then in her progress abroad; and of my Lord Treasurer's with her. "I pray God, said he, in his letter of the 16th of "September to the said Lord, ye bring home the Queen's "Majesty well, and yourself with her. They be full of "spite and secret malice. And he feared, that when Pa-"pists were so bold and full of armour, they might mean "much hurt and mischief. And then for their disarming, "he urged that policy of the Philistines, that none of the "Israelites should have any weapon, but only Saul and "Jonathan. *Caverant enim Philistini, ne fortè facerent "Hebræi gladium aut lanceam.* Indeed, publicly the Pa-"pists did then seem to disown and dislike that cruelty in "Paris." For such Papists as came to the Archbishop would not be known but to dislike these cruelties and viperous murders. But he learned by others, that were inferiors, how they triumphed. Which made him pray God of his grace to protect his little flock.

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His opinion and advice concerning the Queen of Scots and Papists.

He looked upon Mary, the Queen of Scots, to be the chief cause of this audacity of the Papists, and wished that she were removed, though it were by justice; because he perceived no other way for the kingdom's security at that time. And this his mind he brake in these words to the Lord Treasurer: "I beseech God to hold his hand over us. "If that only desperate person were away, as by justice "soon it might be, the Queen's Majesty's good subjects "would be in better hope, and the Papists' daily expecta-"tion vanquished." But that was a thing which Queen Elizabeth would not hear of. And besides, she was void of all fear of any harm from Papists: which was a great trouble to our Archbishop, as well as other wise men about her; and made him say, "That there were many worldlings, "many counterfeits, many ambidexters, many neutrals, "concealing themselves and all their doings. And yet we, "said he, who ought to be *filii lucis*, want our policy and "prudence. *Non putâram*, is the fool's experience. And "if *piscator, ictus semel, sapit*, what shall come of us, "who, after such striking as is now used, shall not be left

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"alive, *ut sapiamus?* God's will be done; and I beseech "God send to the Queen's Majesty *aures, ut audiat; cor "docile et benignum, ut intelligat;* and to be advertised by "the trustiest of her Council, to provide in time, and not to "drive long such matters of reformation, [as some were "now putting on, for the prevention of Popish malice.] "If Almighty God, oft and oft calling upon us, and shew-"ing his favourable countenance from time to time, and yet "we will *in securitate despicere omne consilium ejus;* then "I fear that which doth follow by the prophecy of wise "Solomon, *Ego quoque in interitu vestro ridebo; et sub-"sannabo, cum vobis id quod timebatis advenerit,* &c. And "so he wished her Majesty prosperously to return home; "to the Lord Treasurer, God's good protection; and to them "all of the Council, *spiritum fortitudinis.*"

Orders from the Council to the ecclesiastical Commissioners to look to their charge.

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But the Queen's Council were so alarmed by that massacre before spoken of, that in September a letter came from them to the Archbishop, and other Commissioners of ecclesiastical causes, willing them to look substantially to their charge. Whereupon commandment was by them given to all keepers of prisons about London, and elsewhere, to keep in strait custody all such as lay for those causes; and such as were before bailed upon great suits under bond to appear by a certain day, were now revoked before the time, and put into close and strait custody. Many others also suspected of religion, not agreeable to the state, were committed to close prison, of both sexes,
355 over all the realm, to no small numbers; as I read in a MS. of Annals from 1571 to 1572. The Council also sent the Archbishop and Commissioners an order to give them information of divers things they demanded; to which they returned their answers. One whereof was to certify to them the names and qualities, throughout the realm, of all such Papists as did not like the religion. But this the Archbishop thought an infinite matter to do, and that upon account of their great increase and growing so fast. Whereat he made some stand, to inquire into the reason thereof; marvelling what it meant. And he imputed it to one or

And an order to certify the names of all Papists.

Increase of Papists, occasioned by Puritans.

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both of these things: either private maintenance of them, or to their being exasperated by the disordered preachings and writings of the Puritans; who would never be at a point, as he said. He meant, their wanting certain principles to stick to. For whereas before they objected only against the habits, now they struck at the Liturgy, and the episcopal function. Of these, he said, "they were cunningly encouraged by some persons that pretended otherwise, [that is, by such as hoped, by the help of their quarrels against the calling of Bishops, to get a share of their revenues.] But, as he proceeded, they shoot not at us only, but at you all: [of the Queen's Council, and the nobility:] and if our spoil would serve them, I would not be long to resign up to them." And then, as to their not being at a point, but going on further and further, he accommodated hereto a passage that he had heard, as spoken by the Cardinal of Lorrain; namely, that when he saw our Liturgy in Latin, or French, he should answer, he liked well of that order, "if," saith he, "they would go no further."

The Vidam of Chartres, his letter upon the massacre.

All this did our zealous Archbishop earnestly suggest to the Lord Treasurer. And as he set on him on the one hand, so did John de Ferriers, Vidam of Chartres, on the other. He was one of the chief French Protestant noblemen, and a man of learning; who very narrowly escaped from the massacre, the Duke of Guise following him home to his house to murder him: but he hiding and concealing himself, at length procured the King's safeguard for his person: which the King granted, thinking that then he would return home to his house, whence he had withdrawn himself, where they might be sure to catch him, who could not otherwise find him. But he deceived the deceiver: for with this safeguard he got safe on shipboard, and so came into England; where, as soon as he arrived, which was September the 7th, he wrote to the Lord Treasurer. And as the Archbishop in his letter had charged the Queen with too much lenity towards her own Popish subjects, and too much security in them; so the Vidam, in his, seemed to suspect, "that she would not sufficiently resent that most inhuman deed, nor

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"deal with the French King in that openness and plainness, that so false and base an act deserved to be treated by all neighbour princes. For, among other things, he wrote the Lord Treasurer, that his Lordship should administer great comfort to him, if he might understand by him, that her Majesty had a compassion for them, and did so much abhor so great treachery, that she could not dissemble it. For he could not doubt, but the very remembrance of it created an horror in her: but he feared, that by speaking more mildly concerning it, she might add courage to those boasters, as observing how the neighbour princes dared not so much as once to mutter. He wished some princes would perform that which they ought to do: and he believed they would: that the fear of future revenge might not be the least punishment to those butcherly men. He bade the Lord Treasurer, that he should not believe that they would grow more gentle by a few light words, but rather that they would be more and more insolent, if they were more easily dealt with. And that the judgment that the world had of them, was not to be discovered to them by bare words, but that there was need of action. That they might see there were not mere words, but minds prepared to do something." The letter, being an original, I think worthy to be preserved as a monument of that barbarity.

Num. LXX. See the Appendix.

356 But to return to our Archbishop. The things mentioned before were some of his pensive thoughts concerning the looseness of the government, and the too much security of the Prince. But upon his recollecting what dangers might ensue to him, if these his suggestions to the Lord Treasurer might take any wind, he thought fit in the beginning of October to make some apology for what he had before writ in his two last letters. Telling the said Treasurer, "That he writ private letters to him *in amaritudine animæ, et in insipientia sua.* And I trust, said he, ye do not procure me any displeasure for them. And before Almighty God I speak it, no creature in earth knoweth of this my particular writing to you. I have that persuasion,

The Archbishop apologizes for his free discourse concerning the Queen. October 6.

"that ye love her Highness, and wish her preservation, "whatsoever subtil respects be in some others. The truth "is, as well for Almighty God's commands, for that she is my "Prince, as for the last words that ever her Majesty's mo- "ther spake to me concerning her, being her poor country- "man, I have as much cause to wish well to her Majesty, "as any other whatsoever. And so will I be, whatsoever "come of it. If I be in an error, I can be glad to be "otherwise advertised, to change my fearful opinion to- "wards her."

Dangerous speeches of one at Dover.

Nor indeed were the Archbishop's fears without ground; as appeared by one instance that happened just about this time. For a certain person was taken at Dover, who had used very dangerous speeches concerning a massacre to be shortly in England, and most malicious and shameful words against the Queen herself. As, that the Earl of Leicester, and Mr. Hatton, should be such towards her, as the matter was so horrible, that the examiners would not write down the words, but chose rather to reserve them to be uttered by word of mouth to the Lord Treasurer, if he had been at leisure to hear them. I cite this relation from the very words of a letter from the Archbishop. By the way, hence it may appear, that the Papists first put abroad that infamous report of that excellent Queen's too much familiarity with some of her subjects: which nowadays is become almost credited by many unwary Protestants. This person had said moreover, that a brother of his in Callis affirmed, "That within this winter he trusted to hear of so many "throats cut in England, as were reported to be in France: "and said, What make ye of the persecution of Queen "Mary? for within this twelvemonth he doubted not but "that Henry's bones, and Mrs. Elizabeth's too, should be "openly burned in Smithfield." These words bespake the person so dangerous, that the Mayor of Dover, who had the examination of him there, brought him up to London to the Secretary. But he, being very busy, committed the examination of him to Mr. Somers, Clerk of the Council, and the said Mayor. But this villain notwithstanding was

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delivered, and sent home, to the rejoicing of his friends. This the Archbishop sent the Lord Treasurer word of; warranted thereunto by an order the Queen had given him, willing him to write still to the Lord Burghley, whensoever he should have any thing of moment to impart. He added hereto these words: "Sir, if this be true, God be merciful "to us; I can say no more. As Mardocheus, I hear and un- "derstand; which I pray God turn to her honour. But I "can do no less in conscience, but to unburden myself, and "pour it into your bosom: and her Majesty wills me to "write still to you. God defend her Majesty, and all her "trusty friends."

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CHAP. XI.

Further considerations of this massacre, by the Bishop of London, and Beal, Clerk of the Council. French Protestants fly out of France. Prayers appointed on this occasion. Remarkable judgments upon some concerned in the massacre. Green, a Mass Priest, escapes. Cotton, a Papist in Norfolk. The Archbishop's letter to the Bishop of Norwich concerning him: and Popish prophecies. The Archbishop's advice concerning Priests in the north; favoured by Judges and Justices there.

Bishop Sandes's concern upon this massacre;

As the good Archbishop had this deep sense of the Queen's danger, and of the ill state of religion and the realm, upon this dismal emergence in France; so were other Bishops and good men startled at it. Sandes, Bishop of London, snatching up his pen, wrote to Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, "That they [the Bishops] feared not the "mangling of their bodies; but we dread, said he, the hurt "of our head, [meaning the Queen,] for therein consisteth "our life and safety." And then speaking of the preachers that were to take their turns at Paul's Cross, (which seemed to have been put up upon this occasion,) "young, as he de- "scribed them, and unskilful in matters political, yet so

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"carried with zeal, that they would [provoked with this "barbarous inhumanity] pour forth their opinions." Which, he feared, might give some distaste to the French King, there being as yet a league between the Queen and him, and their speech might utter somewhat tending to the breach thereof; he desired therefore some directions from the Lord Burghley, and he would direct the preachers as well as he could. And, for example for the rest that were to follow, he and the Dean of St. Paul's intended to occupy the place first. Sundry had (besides sermons) desired a public fast and prayers to be made, as he suggested to the Treasurer, for the confounding these and other cruel enemies of God's Gospel. But he thought not fit, he said, to consent unto it, without warrant from her Majesty. The Queen, who was now in her progress, he prayed the Lord Treasurer to hasten homeward, that her safe return to London might comfort many hearts oppressed with fears. And in a paper inclosed, writ with his own hand, as the letter was with his Secretary's, he shewed his judgment, what was to be done in this juncture for the Queen's safety, entitled, *The Safety of our Queen and Realm, if God will*, in nine articles, which I will not stay here to repeat, only I observe in them, that he made the Scotch Queen, now a prisoner in England, to have been the chief cause of all our danger.

And Beal's discourse. Tit. F. 3.

Robert Beal, a zealous Protestant, Clerk of the Council, penned a large discourse upon this massacre, by way of letter to the Lord Burghley: which is extant in the Cotton library. Wherein he shewed it to be the effect of a Popish league; and therefore what great care was now requisite to be taken for the Queen's person: and related there also, in what method the Protestant religion was intended to be rooted out. "By these late horrible accidents in France, "the conjuration of the Council of Trent to root out all "such as contrary to the Pope's traditions make profession "of Christ's Gospel, either by open force, or some other "traitorous, malicious, and bloody attempts, with giving "their dominions in preys to strangers; which was so long "hid, and never could hitherto be believed of Princes Pro-

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"testant, [whereof the Queen was one,] so manifestly now "appeareth, as I think it cannot be denied."—And then, after some lines shewing the leaguers' method, "the first attempt will be by some poison or treason against her Majesty's person: which being once taken away, they think, "things standing as they do, all will be their own. Hereof 358 "her Majesty hath been advertised even from the Queen "Mother herself; and Gambea, which was sent into Mounty "to imprison Count Lodovicus, having eight several sorts "of such drugs, confessed, that he certainly knew there were "some in England for that effect. Mr. Walsingham advised likewise her Highness, that Darbishire, and other "fugitive Papists, have boldly said, that there were more "Maders [one who attempted to kill the Queen] in England: "as I doubt not there be such desperate knaves enough."

The French King's pretence for this act.

When Charles, the French King, had imbrued his hands in all this sea of innocent blood, his next policy was to make it believed to be a just revenge. For to insert here what I find writ from Zurich, by Lavater to Zanchy, "That there "being a Diet at Baden, the French King sent his Ambassador Bellier thither, who, said he, had the impudence, "not only to excuse the King's act, but did declare it as "necessary, and very profitable for the kingdom of France." But all sober men, even Papists themselves, abhorred it. So the French historian writes, *viz.* "Indeed wise men, who "were no Protestants, turning their wits every way, to make "excuse by one means or other for this act, were yet of "this opinion, that no past ages, from the ancientest dates "of time, could furnish the world with an example of such "monstrous cruelty[a]."

The refugees in Geneva. Zanch. Ep. lib. 2.

The poor French Protestants fled whither they could, for the saving of their lives. Many came into England, whereof the forementioned Vidam of Chartres, a learned

[a] Viri sanè prudentes, qui à Protestantibus non stabant, ingenia sua in omnem partem versantes, ut hoc facinus quoquo modo palliare possint, in ea tamen fuerunt sententia, præterita tempora, si ab ultima antiquitate memoria recolantur, tam immanis crudelitatis exemplum non suppeditare. *Thuan. Hist.* lib. 54.

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and a worthy nobleman, was one, but more to Geneva; which was filled with persons of nobility and quality, as well as of meaner condition, leaving all their estates and livelihood behind them. But the King soon sent to them in a dissembling shew of kindness to return home, (for he had not shed blood enough yet,) promising all manner of favour, and the enjoyment of their estates: but indeed his intention was, under this hypocrisy, to complete his massacre by their destruction. And they suspected it. But they took occasion hence to send a messenger in December from Geneva to Zurich, praying the evangelical cities of Helvetia to intercede with the King for them, that while they were absent they might enjoy their possessions in France; and also to extend their charity to such of their company that were in necessity, whereof great numbers had flocked thither.

Prayers appointed on this occasion.

But to look home. It was not before October, that a form of prayer was appointed, and commanded by the Queen's authority, as necessary for the present time: it being the pious practice of our Archbishop upon all emergencies to call to prayers; and upon deliverances, not to forget to procure thanksgivings to be publicly given to God. Which prayers and thanksgivings, being digested into pious forms, proper to awake and stir devotion, he was commonly the composer of. These prayers were put forth October 27. In this office there was, 1. A prayer for repentance and mercy. 2. A prayer to be delivered from our enemies, taken out of the Psalms. 3. A thanksgiving, and prayer for the preservation of the Queen. And 4. A prayer relating to the apprehension of danger, and the troubles many now underwent for religion. The two last I will here set down; and the rather, because hence may be seen somewhat of the present state of religion, and the apprehensions that this massacre was not yet ended.

Prayer for the Queen.

"O God, most merciful Father, who in thy great mercies hast both given unto us a peaceable Princess, and a gracious Queen, and also hast very often and miraculously saved her from sundry great perils and dangers;

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"and by her government hast preserved us and the whole "realm from manifest mischiefs and dreadful plagues, "wherewith nations round about us have been and be "most grievously afflicted; have mercy upon them, O Lord; "and grant us grace, we beseech thee, for these thy great "benefits, that we may be thankful and obedient unto thee, "to fly from all things that may offend thee, and provoke
359 "thy wrath and indignation against us, and to order our "lives in all things that may please thee. That thy ser-"vant, our sovereign Lady, and we thy people committed "to her charge, may by thy protection be continually pre-"served from all deceits and violences of our enemies, and "from all other dangers and evils, both bodily and ghostly, "and by thy goodness may be maintained in all peace and "godliness. Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear "Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ. To whom with "thee and the Holy Ghost, one God immortal, invisible, "and only wise, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. "*Amen.*"

A prayer for the persecuted and persecutors.

"O Lord our God, and heavenly Father, look down, we "beseech thee, with thy fatherly and merciful countenance "upon us, thy people and poor humble servants, and upon "all such Christians as are any where persecuted and sore "afflicted for the true acknowledging of thee to be our "God, and thy Son Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent, to "be the only Saviour of the world; save them, O merciful "Lord, who are as sheep appointed to the slaughter, and "by hearty prayers do call and cry unto thee for thy help "and defence: hear their cry, O Lord, and our prayers for "them and for ourselves. Deliver those that be oppress-"ed; defend those that be in fear of cruelty; relieve them "that be in misery; and comfort all that be in sorrow and "heaviness. That by thy aid and strength, they and we "may obtain surety from our enemies, without shedding of "Christian and innocent blood. And for that, O Lord, "thou hast commanded us to pray for our enemies, we do "beseech thee, not only to abate their pride, and to stay "the cruelty and fury of such, as either of malice or igno-

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"rance do persecute them which put their trust in thee, "and hate us, but also to mollify their hard hearts, to open "their blind eyes, and to enlighten their ignorant minds, "that they may see and understand, and truly turn unto "thee, and embrace that holy word, and unfeignedly be con-"verted unto thy Son Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of the "world, and believe and love his Gospel, and so eternally "be saved. Finally, that all Christian realms, and espe-"cially this realm of England, may by thy defence and "protection enjoy perfect peace, quietness, and security; "and all that desire to be called and accounted Christians, "may answer in deed and life unto so good and godly a "name, and jointly all together, in one godly concord and "unity, and with one consonant heart and mind, may ren-"der unto thee all laud and praise continually: magnifying "thy glorious Name, who with thy Son, our Saviour Jesus "Christ, and the Holy Ghost, art one eternal, almighty, "and most merciful God. To whom be all laud and praise, "world without end. *Amen.*"

Judgments upon the chief actors in the massacre.

Concerning this massacre, observations could not but be made of the ends of some of the chief authors and actors therein. To say nothing of Charles, the French King, who died not long after by strange bleeding, Dr. Valentine Dale, who was the Queen's Ambassador in France the year after this, in a letter then writ to the Earl of Sussex, related, "how it was said, that Mareshal Tavanes died *ex morbo* "*pediculari*, which is much noted, said he, because he was "one of the greatest persecutors at the massacre." And again; "In a third combat, the 20th and 21st of May, 1573, "between the Rochellers, the besieged and the besiegers, "it is reported, that one Besme, who in the last massacre "at Paris slew the Admiral, had his thighs quite stricken "off with a cannon."

Green, a Mass Priest taken.

Awakened by this horrible slaughter of the Protestants in France, those in the government appointed diligent searches here at home to be made for Popish Priests, with whom the kingdom was now well replenished. And when some of them were taken, they found friends at Court, or

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572. Inter MSS. Burglian.

means to escape. In certain letters of Sir Thomas Smith, now Secretary of State, I find one Green, a Mass Priest, taken in the month of October, and committed by the said Sir Thomas, to King, the Knight Marshal's man, the said Secretary having matter against him. And when he had intended to have examined him, he, and Mr. Treasurer Mildmay, commanded the Marshal's man to bring him. Who answered, that the Lord Treasurer had given him a 360 letter, and commanded that he should be carried with that letter to the Bishop of London. But Smith said he mistook the matter, and that he himself had the matter in his keeping, that should charge him, [being some treasonous points,] and that neither the Bishop nor Commissioners had information, or any thing to do with him. And added, that he should be examined by the Council and himself; which Mr. Treasurer was also privy to. And thereupon both Mr. Treasurer and the Secretary charged him forthwith to bring the Priest thither again. The which he said he would do. But notwithstanding these words and this charge, the Marshal's man brought him not. And the rest of the Marshal's men made excuses for it. But of the said Green they could not hear. And so the Secretary wrote to the Lord Treasurer. This, no question, was a trick to save Green, wherein might some great men be secretly concerned. They were afraid, if he should be brought before the Council, the matter to charge him might endanger his life. The taking away of which the government cared not to do. Nor was any Priest executed till the year 1577, when one Main was. Who was the very first that was proceeded against by a law which had been made six years before, *viz.* 1571, (occasioned justly by the Pope's excommunicating the Queen,) against such as should bring into the realm *Agnus Dei's*, or consecrated grains, as tokens of Papal obedience, or should reconcile any to the Church of Rome.

Cotton, a Papist in Norfolk.

Information was given in the month of October to the Archbishop, and the ecclesiastical Commissioners, of one Cotton, a Papist, son to a Knight of Kent of that name. Which Cotton having married a daughter of Sir Roger

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Woodhouse, of Norfolk, lay somewhere in that county concealed, being a very evil disposed person. Whereupon the said Archbishop wrote to the Bishop of the diocese in the Queen's name, to search the said Cotton's house, and to see what unlawful books and what armour he had; and thereof to make an inventory; and finally, to stay him, or bring him up before the Queen's Commissioners. This letter was dated in October. According to the tenor whereof, the said Bishop, and Mr. Drue Drury, went and found him in the house of Francis Downis, of East Tuddenham, a man of like ill disposition with Cotton. Here he had been almost a year, entertained in a private chamber, and never coming to church, was scarcely known to be there. He confessed himself to be a Papist, and said he was not ashamed of it. The Bishop wrote word, that he thought him a fit instrument to take any enterprise in hand. But being so little known, the Bishop was fain to take his own bond. And they sent up to the Commissioners the books they had seized in his possession.

CHAP. XI.

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In November the Archbishop wrote the Bishop of Norwich this ensuing letter concerning this Cotton, as well as concerning other persons that came not to prayers, suspicious in that regard.

The Archbishop's letter concerning him.

"*Sal. in Christo.* I have received the two books, and "the lewd book of prophecies. As for Cotton himself, he "is not yet come up; whereof we do marvel. I would be "loath to hear, for not binding him with sureties, he should "escape away. I pray your Lordship devise some way to "foresee the same. You shall do well in mine opinion, by "all means you can, inquire of such unordered persons "papistically set, not coming to prayers according to the "laws, nor bearing good-will unto the religion received. "Which must not be proved by surmises, but by their "deeds, words, or letters. And if you signify them to us, "we shall have consideration of them.

"You shall also do well to signify what good men of "countenance ye have, able to be in grand commission

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"for examining and ordering of such contemners. And "thus, having else nothing, I commit your Lordship to "God, as myself. From my house at Lambeth, this 2d of "November, 1572.

"Your loving brother,

"Matthue Cantuar."

361 Popish prophecies.

This lewd book of prophecies found among Cotton's papers was, I make no doubt, of the nature of those prophecies, against which an act was made in the fifth of Queen Elizabeth. For among the rest of the arts the Papists used, pretended prophecies were none of the least, to amuse the ignorant sort of their party against the Queen and her government: as though it were near a conclusion, and *happy golden days to succeed.* Which was no new invention; for it was practised under King Edward VI. So that *anno ejus reg.* 3. an act was made against *fantastical prophecies*, as they were styled by the said act. And so likewise *anno ejusdem reg.* 7. And in the fifth of this Queen, the former acts being expired, an act was made upon this reason, as the preamble ran, "Because divers factious and rebel-"lious persons had been the bolder to imagine and publish "such prophecies, as well concerning the Queen's Majesty, "as others of the realm, to the great peril of the same. "Therefore it was ordained, that if any person or persons, "after the first of May next coming, did advisedly or di-"rectly advance, publish, set forth in writing, printing, "singing, or any other open speech or deed, to any person "or persons, any fond, fantastical, or false prophecies, upon "or by occasion of any arms, fields, beasts, badges, or such "like things accustomed in arms, cognizances, or signs; or "upon or by reason of any time, year or day, name, blood-"shed or war; to the intent thereby to make any rebellion, "insurrection, dissension, loss of life, or other disturbance "within the realm: any such person was to forfeit impri-"sonment of his body by the space of one year, and to "forfeit moreover, for every such offence, the sum of ten "pounds. And if the person offended again in the said

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"kind, it was imprisonment during life, and forfeiture of "all his goods and chattels."

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So that by this prophesying book, taken in Cotton's custody, we understand the man and his transgressions: and by the Archbishop's letter, we see how diligent the State now was in looking after these papistically inclined persons, upon the just fears they had at present of them: and we learn how that there was a commission issuing out for this diocese of Norwich, to take examination and cognizance of such. The names of some of these to be Commissioners sent up by the Bishop, according to the Archbishop's request, were, Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper; John, Lord Bishop of Norwich; Thomas Lord Wentworth; Sir Robert Wyngfield; Sir Owen Hopton; Sir William Butts; Sir Nicolas Lestrange; Sir Christopher Heydon; William Maister, the Bishop's Chancellor; John Walker, George Gardyner, Doctors of Divinity; Robert Bishop, Doctor of Law; Henry Bird; Thomas Brook, B. D.; Thomas Roberts, Archdeacon of Norwich; Thomas Aldrich, Archdeacon of Sudbury; Thomas Fowle, M.A.; William Sanderson, M.A.; Lancelot Thexton, &c.

Commissioners for Norfolk.

But as for Cotton, it was as the Archbishop suspected: he was fled and gone, notwithstanding his bond for appearance, and had conveyed himself out of those parts. The Archbishop understanding the danger of the man, was earnest to have him seized, and sent again to the Bishop of Norwich, to make strict inquiry after him; and we shall hear more of him shortly.

Cotton flies.

The Earl of Shrewsbury in the north parts, by two of his men, took up some Priests, and laid them in prison. Their examinations, and they too, as it seems, were sent up. Which examinations being in the hands of Secretary Smith, he communicated them to the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop of Canterbury: the conclusion, as best liked of, was, that they should be sent down again into the country, to the two Justices of assize in their circuit, and the Priests to be tried there, rather than by the Commissioners, or

Priests taken in the north.

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Anno 1572. The Archbishop's advice concerning them.

Privy Council. And the Archbishop advised, that to forward the business the more, and that the Justice might be the carefuller in executing the laws upon them, a letter should be sent to them from the Lords of the Council, to take particular care of that matter. The Secretary hereupon drew up a letter, which he sent to the Lord Treasurer to peruse and sign; though the Secretary said, he could not like the Justices of assize for mass-matters, and that they would help them to escape punishment for that fault, which they would gladly commit themselves, if they durst. Such were even the Judges of the nation at this time. But, added he, I may peradventure be deceived: yet that is the common opinion that men have of them. The Archbishop desired it might be done in haste, that is, the letter to be despatched to the Judges. For he, in the ecclesiastical commission, cared to have as little to do in these cases as might be. By another letter, it appears, that the Lord Treasurer himself did think these two Justices of assize would be none of the forwardest to prosecute mass-mongers. But yet he used some reasons with the Secretary, that the doings of these Judges for this once might be tried. The Treasurer added, that the Lord Chamberlain [the Earl of Sussex] was of the same mind, that these men would rather cloak, and openly excuse, than accuse them, who were worthy of accusation, and doubtful whether they would hinder the discovery of the nest that would be broken.

The Judges favourable to Popery;

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And some Justices of peace.

Some Justices of the peace, as well as of assize, stood this way affected also. For some Priests, having been taken up as it seems in Kent, and now prisoners in London or Westminster, had confessed, that some Justices of peace, and others, had been present at mass with them. This made the Lord Treasurer despatch letters to Sir Thomas Smith, wrote in March, signifying his desire that he would send letters forthwith to the Archbishop, with instructions relating to this matter: requiring him, with some of the Commissioners ecclesiastical, to consider of it; and if they thought it so meet, to send down to the assizes the Priests

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that confessed of these Justices. Which letters were signed by the Secretary, and Mildmay, Under Treasurer. And the messenger was directed, that if the Archbishop sent down any [to be tried at the assizes,] then he might help to carry them thither: if he did not, then the messenger was to return with his Grace's answer. But the messenger not returning, Smith supposed that they were sent. With his letters aforesaid, letters of the Lord Chief Baron and Serjeant Lovelace were inclosed, and sent then also to the Archbishop; who probably were examiners of these Priests. Hereby the Justices of peace concerned, being then upon the bench at the assizes, might have their faults openly shewed, and reproved, the Priests that accused them being present.

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CHAP. XII.

Dr. Whitgift answereth the Admonition. The answer reviewed by the Archbishop and others. Norton vindicates himself to the Archbishop about some advice he gave to Whitgift. Finishes Bekesborn palace. Purchases a house there. Grants a patent for hunting to his son Matthew. A Church of strangers at Stamford. Isbrand Balkius, their Minister.

As there was this to do with the Popish Priests and Papists, so the Puritans also appeared very busy this year, and much business there was also with them. Cartwright's book, called, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, of which mention was made before, gave the alarm to the Court and the Church. Of which more will be heard the next year.

The Admonition to the Parliament alarms the Court.

It was observed by the Answerer to have been directed to the Parliament, but published after the Parliament was ended. And that it was not exhibited in Parliament as it ought to have been, but spread abroad in corners, and sent into the country: and it came to their hands who had least to do in reforming. The platformers in this their book

Answered by Whitgift. Defence of the Answer, p. 35.

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BOOK IV. built all upon two pillars or principles, which the Answerer called (and undertook to prove to be) *rotten pillars* and
Anno 1572. false principles. The one was, that we must of necessity
363 have the same kind of government that was in the Apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scripture, and no other. The other was, that we may not in any wise, nor in any consideration, retain in the Church any thing that hath been abused under the Pope. A very able man of Cambridge was procured to answer this book, namely, Dr. Whitgift, as was told us before. Of whose parts and learning, hear what the author was forced to say of himself. For whereas T. C. had said of him, "You are better acquainted with the "names of logic and philosophy, than with any sound or "substantial knowledge of them;" Dr. Whitgift answered to this, "That he boasted not in any profound skill in "school learning. He thanked God for that which he had. "That he refused not the University's judgment of him "from the time of his first being Sophister unto that day. "That it had been, and was better persuaded of him, than "he was worthy. Which appeared, in that it had laid "upon him, as much as upon any one man from time to "time, from his first peeping out, unto that day; namely, "all the public exercises in all sciences that he had pro-"fessed; and that without his seeking, nay, against his "will. And he trusted that he neither had in doing of "them disgraced her, nor shamed himself. But he added, "that surely he was ashamed thus to burst out to the de-"fence of himself, had he not been thereto compelled by "his adversary's uncivil and opprobrious speeches."

His abilities.

Part of the Answer finished.

In October he had made such haste, as to finish the first part of his Answer, which he shewed to two of his learned friends, the Bishop of Lincoln and Dr. Pern, and soon after sent it, before it went to the press, to our Archbishop, to peruse and correct, to alter, add, and take away, as he thought good. And the second part he had in readiness, which was to follow the first. He had prepared Toy for the printing of it, and had sent one Hanson, a learned man of Trinity college, to correct the press, joining Grafton

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CHAP. XII.

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with him, that it might be the better printed. He desired to be directed by his Grace to whom he should dedicate it, whether to the Queen, or Parliament, (as Cartwright had dedicated his book,) or any other. And lastly, he prayed his Grace, that the printer might be charged not to give a copy of it, or a portion thereof, till all were printed. This letter of Whitgift to the Archbishop, for the memory of the man, I have put in the Appendix. No. LXXI.

Whitgift sends his book to the Lord Treasurer.

And as soon as the book was printed off, and finished, the author presented it to the Lord Treasurer, with his letter, dated February 5, from Cambridge. Wherein he gave account of his undertaking, the weightiness of the cause, and the great need there was of a speedy remedy against the spreading of such notions and principles, that tended so directly to the overthrow of the peace of Church and State. It may not be amiss therefore to mention the contents of his said letter; *viz.* "That he knew his Lordship's leisure "would not serve him to peruse the book through, yet if it "should please him sometimes to read on it, he doubted "not, but that he would soon perceive how little cause "there was so grievously to accuse the Church of Eng-"land, and so bitterly to inveigh against such lawful godly "Orders, and kind of government, as was used in the "same. And that if nothing else, yet surely the mani-"fold untruths in the Reply, not only in falsifying and "corrupt alleging of ancient authorities, abusing of holy "Scripture, but also the slenderness and weakness of the "reasons therein used, might move those that were godly, "quiet, and learned, to the utter disliking of that platform, "that could not be builded but with such timber. That if "he had not answered every point of the Reply, to the satis-"fying of every man's opinion, or had left out many things "that might have been added, (as no doubt he had,) yet "he humbly beseeched his Lordship not to let that draw "him into a misliking of the cause, but rather persuade "himself, that there were divers learned men in England "(to whom he was, he said, in all degrees far inferior) that "were able to supply his wants, and to satisfy to the full

MSS. Cecilian.

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"that which lacked in him. And that in his opinion, it "were not amiss, if they were moved so to do. For so "common a cause, he added, ought not to be ventured "upon one man's labours. But that he was so well assured "of his doctrine, that he was not only well content to "sustain that pains and labour, but the envy also of divers "persons, and the manifest injuries of cursing tongues. "That it became him not, neither was it needful, to move "his Lordship to be zealous in the cause; for he knew "better what he had to do therein, than he was able to in-"form. Only this, he said, he was well assured of, that if "they should be suffered to proceed as they had begun, "nothing else in the end could be looked for, but confusion "both of the Church and of the State. But that conve-"nient discipline, joined with doctrine, being duly exe-"cuted, would soon remedy all. For sects and schisms "could by no means abide these two: neither would they "long continue, where they were not by some authority "cherished and maintained. That experience, and the "stories of all ages, taught this to be true. And so prayed "the Lord to give peace to his Church, and to preserve "his Lordship, and govern him with his Holy Spirit, that "he might long live profitably to the Church, and honour-"ably unto his country."

Norton sets himself right with the Archbishop;

There was now one Thomas Norton, a minister, as it seems, and of good parts and learning, a retainer at the Court, and well known to the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop. This man was thought to stand somewhat affected to the Puritans, because he would often blame the favour of the state towards Papists, and the forbearance of the execution of laws that were made against them. These and such like expressions falling from him, having long before this given some jealousies to the Archbishop, Norton now, to set himself right with his Grace, assured him, that he would be no disturber of the peace of the Church, nor did dislike the constitution of it; but that he disliked the defect in the ministration of justice, and that good laws made for the good estate of religion were not put in force

As no disturber of the Church's peace.

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as they should be: which gave licence to the open adversaries of it. To which the Archbishop himself agreed. So that the Archbishop seemed to dismiss him with good satisfaction. But now, Whitgift's book being yet hardly out of the press, a report came to the Archbishop's ears, that Norton was framing, or did intend to frame, an answer thereunto. Norton was known to Whitgift, and had indeed advised him, while he was meditating upon writing a book in behalf of the Church against these men, to consult with some wise men, whether it were not better to forbear writing, and to let the thing sleep of itself, than to blow up the controversy by more writing *pro* and *con*. But when he saw the scribbling humour of the other side, that they would not be quiet, then he told Whitgift plainly, that this keeping up the quarrel was on their part, and their fault, not his. And in fine, he let the Archbishop know, that he was so far from writing against Whitgift, that he could not but approve him and his cause: expressing a great trouble that the Archbishop should have any such belief of him: for thus he wrote to him.

Norton to the Archbishop. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

" My duty humbly done, I presume to write unto you, " moved with some grief, that you can believe upon any " respect such matter as Mr. Day tells me, that I should " be writing against Mr. Whitgift. Your Grace knoweth, " and Mr. Whitgift himself knoweth, that I am not of that " mind. Indeed before Mr. Whitgift's book came out, and " before any of their latewardly books on the other side " came out, I did by my letters advise Mr. Whitgift to use " some Counsellor's opinion, whether it were best policy to " let the quarrel die quietly, and vanish of itself. Marry, " when I saw that the other side would not be quiet, but " had written new books, then I sent him word, that now " the exagitating the matter was not his fault, but theirs. " You see how far this is from that you have heard. It is " one thing to mislike the state and doctrine of our Church, " as they do, and another thing to dislike the corrupt min- " istration of justice, and evil executing of the laws as they

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BOOK IV. Anno 1572.

"be. Which is the fault of men, and may without slander "of our Church, but rather with honour thereof, be re-"formed. And yet these very reformations, which your "Grace desired as much as any man, are not to be sought "in such manner as they do; but in such sort as may be
365 "hopeful to prevail. But what need all this? Your Grace "knoweth long ago my whole mind herein. God keep his "Church from being troubled with greater things. So I "leave to trouble your Grace. At London, the 16th of "Jan. 1572.

"Your Grace's humble,

"Tho. Norton."

Bekesborn palace finished.

This year Archbishop Parker added the last finishing strokes to his palace at Bekesborn, lying about the space of three miles from Canterbury. About which house, standing very pleasantly, Archbishop Cranmer had laid out much to make it convenient; there being the two first letters of his name, and the year 1552, and his motto, *Nosce teipsum et Deum*, still to be seen upon the wall of the gate-house. But upon the great gate are the arms of Parker alone, and the date 1572, and this label about the crest, *Mundus transit, et concupiscentia ejus:* all of them cut in wood. Which makes it probable, that this Archbishop, besides what buildings or reparations he made here, did the inward work, the gates, the doors, the wainscot, &c. Archbishop Abbot, of later times, lived in Bekesborn some years, and preached in the parish church there on Sunday mornings. Of which, as the late reverend Vicar told me, they had a pleasant story: That there were two country fellows met: the one told the other he was making haste to Bekesborn church, where he was told a great man preached; he thought it was Sir Henry Pulmer, who was the greatest man he knew in the parish. This palace was demolished in the year 1658, at the latter end of the year. There is no part of it left standing at this day, but only a long row of plain brick building, called, *the gate-house*, which was the entrance into the palace. The very foundations of all the

N. Bately.

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rest are digged up. At which time, or not long before, another house also, belonging to the see, situate at Ford, being the most ancient seat of the Archbishops of this see, was pulled down; the brick, timber, and other materials, sold to any purchaser that would buy them.

Anno 1572. Ford-house.

Out of the materials of Bekesborn palace, thus demolished, some other houses were built not far off. On some stones whereof still remain the arms of Christ's church, Cant. and in the glass windows may be seen the rebus of Tho. Goldston, last Prior of the priory of Canterbury, to which that house of Bekesborn anciently belonged. That Prior was a great builder here.

Bekesborn ruins.

Having said thus much of Bekesborn, let me add one thing more, which is, that Archbishop Parker was possessor of another house, which he intended for a dwelling for his wife, situate right over against the garden of the palace. And it is commonly reported that he built it, his coat of arms being in the glass windows of the parlour. But upon better information, one William Whiting was indeed the builder, whose rebus is still in the glass window. And of him the Archbishop purchased it. This house the Archbishop, by his last will, left to his eldest son, who sold it.

The Archbishop purchased a house in Bekesborn.

The Archbishop, for the diversion and benefit of his second son, this year granted a patent, dated Nov. 25, to Matthew Parker, Esq. for hunting, hawking, and fishing, within the liberties of the said Archbishop.

A patent to Matt. Parker, Esq. for hunting, &c.

This year deceased Walter Haddon, LL. D. in the fifty-sixth year of his age, one of the chief rank of learned and religious men in these times. He was buried in Christ's church, London, and had a monumental inscription there, preserved in Stow's Survey. His second wife's name was Ann Sutton, who survived him. He was made the President of Magdalen college, Oxon, by mandate from King Edward VI. about the year 1552, being aged then about thirty-six years. Martin Bucer, in 1550, appointed him and Dr. Parker his executors, being both then men of eminence in Cambridge. Our Archbishop made him, being his old friend, Judge of the Prerogative Court. And the

Dr. Haddon dies.

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BOOK IV. Queen made him Master of Requests, and sent him abroad to Flanders in quality of her Ambassador. He had been
Anno 1572. one of the great and eminent lights of the Reformation in Cambridge under King Edward. John Bradford, the martyr, thought fit to mention him in his last compassionate letter to that University, anno 1555, but a little before his burning, in these words: "Call to mind the threatenings
366 "of God, now something seen, by thy children, Lever "and others. Let the exile of Lever, Pilkington, Grindal, "Haddon, Horne, Scory, Ponet, &c. something admonish "thee." He was accounted to be master of the elegantest Latin style of any living in the age. His education he received at Eaton, and had the same instructor that King Edward himself had, *viz.* Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely. Hatcher of Cambridge gathered together as many of his orations, epistles, and poems, as he could, and published them anno 1567. And lastly, I add, that he was dear to our Archbishop.

Cavalerius, Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, dies. MSS. G. P. Armig. To the death of this learned man, let me add that of another, who also, if I mistake not, died this year, namely, Rauf le Chevalier, or, as he is writ in Latin, *Rodulphus Cavalerius*, Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, whither he went, anno 1569, as we heard before. I have seen his last will in French, made in Guernsey, where he now was, as it seems, with his wife and children. His wife's name was Elizabeth le Grimecieux. He had two daughters, Jael and
His will. Mary, and one only son, Samuel. In his said will he spake of the fidelity and constancy which he always found in his wife, in all his persecutions for the Gospel. He gave thanks to the right worshipful (as he styled them) and most dear Fathers, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for all the gentleness and favour which he had received at their hands. And as they knew he had taken pains according to his small talent in sundry churches and schools, and had always been content with his food and raiment, so he beseeched them for God's sake, and for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the love of the Holy Ghost, to assist his said wife and children, and to help

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them, that Mr. [Emanuel, Tremellius, now Professor at Heydleburg,] who gave him his wife, [Tremellius and he seemed to have married two sisters,] in case they had no children, might understand and know his decease; and to move him to take pity of the poor widow and her children. He spake of his nephews beyond sea, Robert, Anthony, and Oliver. As to his debts, he said, he owed nothing. But that the Church of Caen owed him two hundred and fifty livres for the charge of his last voyage, [coming, I suppose, in the year 1568, or before, to solicit the Queen's aid.] He trusted upon the Queen's liberality, that the grant which she made for the recompense of his former pains should not be diminished by her; but rather that she would do according to the example of her dear brother, King Edward of blessed memory, who offered to the widow of Martin Bucer, that she might remain here in England, and to see to the marrying of her daughters. That according to the same goodness her Majesty would take care of the needy condition of his poor wife and children. And so he ended his will with these words, "Lord Jesus, "come for the defence of the poor churches." This will was made in the isle of Garnsey, October 8, 1572.

John Knox dies.

To these I subjoin the death of a third Protestant, of great fame in the Church of Scotland; namely, John Knox, Minister of Edenburg, who died in peace in November, aged sixty-seven. He comforted himself in his last sickness by the holy Scriptures read to him, and particularly the xviith chapter of St. John, and the xvth chapter of the First Epistle of the Corinthians, which chapters he ordered his wife to read to him. He was the great instrument of the reformation of the Church of Scotland. But in the days of King Edward VI. he preached in England; first at Berwick, then at Newcastle; thence he came more southwardly to London; and at last he was appointed one of the King's itinerary preachers; and in November 1552. had an annuity of 40*l.* assigned him to be paid at the augmentation quarterly, till he were promoted to some benefice. Being offered a living in London, he refused it; but

King Edward's Warrant-book.

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BOOK IV. departing into the parts of Buckinghamshire, there he preached God's word. And upon King Edward's death re-
Anno 1572. tired beyond the sea, and came first to Geneva, where he remained at his private study; until by Calvin's counsel he became preacher to the English exiles at Frankford, who had sent for him. Afterwards, by reason of his refusal to use the English Book of Common Prayer, he departed with some of the company to Geneva, and there for a while was preacher to the English and Scotch, using a new book framed after the manner of the Church of Geneva, and allowed by Calvin. In May 1559, he returned into his own country, to forward the Reformation; where he lived to the day of his death. But his violent methods, and disloyal behaviour towards the Queen of Scots, is generally con-
367 demned. I need not here mention the lie the Papists disperse in their books concerning Knox's death: who are fain to maintain their cause by such ugly ways; and make King James himself the author of their tale. Which how-
The Papists' hideous lie of his death. ever let me relate: "That when that King came first into "England, being at dinner in a nobleman's house, he said, "that God thought fit to set a visible mark of reprobation "upon him, even in his life, before he went to the Devil. "(For these are the words of the author.) Which was, that "being sick in his bed, with a good fire of coals by him, "and a candle light upon the table, a woman or maid of his "sitting by him, he willed her to fetch him some drink, "being extremely thirsty. She went and returned quickly; "but found the room all in darkness. For not only the "candle, but the coal-fire also was utterly extinct. And she "by that light which herself brought in, immediately after "saw the body of Knox lying dead in the midst of the "floor, and with a most ghastly and horrid countenance. As "if his body were to shew the condition of his soul." This story this writer takes from another of his party; *viz.* Knot, in his Protestancy Condemned, printed at Doway, 1654.

The Politicians' Catech. printed at Antw. 1658. *Permissu superiorum.*

A church of exiles at Stamford. The latter end of this year several families of Protestant exiles, and natives for the most part of the Low Countries, were about transplanting themselves out of London, at

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Stamford in Lincolnshire; there to live and follow their callings. And this by the motion of the Lord Burghley, to whom the town chiefly belonged, well knowing what good profit and benefit might redound unto the place and country, by the trades and business these men should bring along with them, by taking off the wools at a good price, and encouraging the sowing of flax and hemp, improving land, and such like. For they were for the most part weavers of such sorts of cloths as were not yet wove and made (or very rarely) in England, as bays, and says, and stammets, fustians, carpets, linseywoolseys, fringes, tapestry, silks, and velvets, figured and unfigured linen: there were also among them dyers, ropemakers, hatters, makers of coffers, knives, locks, workers in steel and copper, and the like, after the fashion of Nurenburg in Germany. For the bringing this motion to perfection, Isbrand Balkius, their minister, and Casper Vosbergius, in the name of the rest, put up their petition to the Lord Burghley, whom they called their Mæcenas, to obtain certain liberties and privileges from the Queen, to settle themselves and their families at Stamford; to have a church to worship God in, in their own way, without disturbance; to have a liberty to set up their trades, and to buy and sell, and to plant also and sow, and follow husbandry for their necessary subsistence, and for the comfort of these afflicted Christians, to make shoes, and garments, and hose, and to bake, brew, and exercise the occupations of carpenters, joiners, &c. for and among themselves: and likewise, that it might be lawful for them to choose out from among themselves seven men, more or less, as the strangers of Norwich and Sandwich had in their churches; who, having taken their oaths at the magistrates' hands, were to decide and determine all controversies arising among them; or if they could not, to call two of the magistrates of the town to assist them. These privileges contained in ten articles, with their humble supplication in Latin to the Lord Burghley, may be seen and read in the Appendix. This congregation and manufacture of Walloons continued a great while in Stamford, but now is

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in effect vanished. In the hall where they used to meet for their business, the town feasts are now kept. The place where they exercised their religion is not known: yet their last minister, a long-lived man, was known to many now alive. There have been attempts lately made by the burgesses, and other neighbouring gentlemen, to set up again this decayed manufacture, as my late reverend friend, Mr. Robert Martin, then living there, hath informed me, (for there is as good wool in those parts as any where in England,) but it hath not as yet taken effect; and possibly will never, till such a company of poor industrious men undertake it.

But because it may stumble the reader to meet with Isbrand Balkius here, one of the ministers of this church, who had but last year been expelled the Strangers' church at Norwich; therefore I shall exemplify the testimonial which the Bishop of Norwich gave to him.

368 "John, by the providence of God, Bishop of Norwich, "to all Christian people sendeth greeting: Know ye, that "Master Isbrand Balkius, sometime one of the ministers of "the Dutch congregation in Norwich, is a man well learned, "and of godly conversation. And through the troublesome "contention of some of the said congregation, there did "arise like contention and troubles among their ministers, "so as it was thought necessary to remove them all; not-"withstanding, since the pacification, I have not heard but "the said Isbrandus hath behaved himself quietly, and as "becometh him. So as I do think him, both for his learn-"ing and godly life, to be worthy of the like charge and "government in any place where he shall be thereunto "appointed. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my "hand and seal this 8th of March, 1571, and in the 14th "year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by "the grace of God, &c.

"John Norwic."

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CHAP. XIII.

The Archbishop recommends Jewel's book for the churches in Norwich diocese. The Concealers forge a letter from the Archbishop to the Bishop of Norwich. That Bishop writes to him for advice in some cases: partly about a woman using conjuration. Information sent to the Archbishop concerning Cotton and Kilburn, Papists in Norwich.

THE Archbishop, at this juncture, had two businesses with the Bishop of Norwich; for which diocese above the rest he had a particular regard, having been born therein. The one was, that, for the better instruction of that diocese in the principles of true religion against the errors of Popery, he would take care, that the last book of the late Bishop of Sarum might be had in all churches of his diocese, which as yet had them not. And he was put more particularly upon requiring this at the Bishop's hands, as well by one of the Council, a native of that country, (probably the Lord Bacon,) as by Mr. Heydon, a good Protestant of the said county. For thus the Archbishop wrote in his letter, dated February 24. That he was moved by one of his good Lords of the Council, and also requested by Mr. Chr. Heydon's son and heir, that the Bishop and his officers would recommend the said book to be had in the rest of the parish churches where they were not. The Archbishop added, that he was glad to hear of the said gentleman's good affection; and that even so he commended the same to the Bishop's good zeal; doubting nothing of the favour he bore to the author, (once his pupil,) and much less to the matter.

Anno 1572.

Bishop Jewel's book to be had in the churches of Norwich diocese.

His other business with my Lord of Norwich was concerning a forged letter, sent as from the Archbishop to him. The contents whereof were to put the Bishop upon screwing money from his Clergy, for to be eased of the Concealers for the future, by bribing them with a good sum to come no more into the diocese. For these griping extor-

The Concealers forge the Archbishop's hand.

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tionists, in the month of February, were brought into the Star-chamber; and there many of their lewd deceits exercised upon the poor Clergy, and their ways of wringing money from the Queen's subjects, and abusing her commission, being discovered and laid open, they were sent to the Fleet, and made answerable to all such of the Clergy for such sums as had been extorted from them. Now these men, foreseeing their fate and fall, and that their commission was drawing towards an end, had, as it seems, for their last effort, endeavoured by fraudulent letters to scrape up
369 some more money from the country ministers: and for this purpose had the impudence to make use of the Archbishop's name and authority, the better to abuse the Bishops and Clergy. As for the Bishop, when he received this pretended order from the Archbishop, he wrote again to him for some direction how to manage this contribution among the Clergy. Whereby the Archbishop, knowing he had sent no such order, began to smell the cheat, and thus writ back again.

"*Sal. in Christo.*

The Archbishop to the Bishop of Norwich hereupon. E MSS. R. D. Joh. Ep. Elien.

"I received a letter, dated the 23d of February, which "specifieth of certain letters, that I should write to your "Lordship, touching a collection to be made of the Clergy "of your diocese; thereby to set them free from the extre-"mity of the late visitors. And further you write, that "some certain sum you would have set down; and that "you would move your Commissaries in their circuits to "propound the same to the Clergy, and so to return an-"swer, &c. I pray you to send me those letters, and re-"member by whom they were delivered. For they have "shamefully abused my name to you: for I never meant "to write such letters to you, as I am sure I have not "done. But belike some forgery is devised of such good "fellows, as at this last day of the Star-chamber were ex-"amined, and sent to the Fleet, and [made] answerable to "all such of the Clergy [in such sums] as have been ex-"torted by them. I pray your Lordship to stir in this

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"matter, and send me word so soon as you can. And thus "I bid you well to fare as myself. From my house at "Lambeth, this 3d day of March, 1572.

"Your loving brother,

"Matthue Cantuar."

The Bishop of Norwich accordingly shewed the Archbishop, that a servant of his chamber received his pretended letter from one Pede, who was the bringer down of the letter; and was younger brother to one of that name, being one of his Grace's own servants. Which might make one suspect, that some of the Archbishop's own family were privy to this forgery, and partakers with these Concealers.

That Bishop fears an inconvenience in Bp. Jewel's book.

As for the Archbishop's advice for setting up the Bishop of Sarum's book in the churches of the diocese, where they were not, the said reverend Father replied to his Grace, "That as he had singular cause to allow well of the author "of that work, so he did conjecture, that the placing of "controversies in open churches might be a great occasion "to confirm the adversaries in their opinions. For they "having not wherewith to buy Harding's book, should "find the same already provided for them; and were like "unto the spider, sucking only that might serve their "purposes, and contenting themselves from reading that "was most wholesome, would not once vouchsafe to look "upon the same. These, he said, were but his fears only: "and therefore, till he should hear further from his Grace, "he did not think it good to move the same to his diocese. "But otherwise as his Grace should advise, it should be "commended after Easter to them." The Archbishop's mind being known for the affirmative, the Bishop, early the next year, appointed a convenient number of the said books to be sent from London, and received there in his diocese, for the order and purpose aforesaid.

One pretends to cure distempers by conjuration.

Another emergence now fell out, which occasioned the foresaid Bishop to apply himself again to his Metropolitan. It was the care of the Bishops nowadays to look after charmers, and such as deceived the people by pretences to

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cure diseases, or to foretell, or divine. At Stowmarket in this year, an old woman was informed against to the Bishop, by Mr. Brome, Commissary of Sudbury, that took upon her by words of conjuration, and such other unlawful means, to cure all manner of diseases. To whom the people resorted from all parts in great numbers. The Bishop hereupon ordered his Commissary to forbid her, and to restrain her devilish doings. Which he did in the Bishop's name. Since which time she went on in her wicked ways as before; and was again restrained, March 25, 1573.

370 Two of the chief of the parish were before the Bishop at Ludham, to inform. The Bishop then wrote both to the Curate of the town, and to his Commissary, to command her not to meddle further; and withal to proceed against her according to law. And of all this the Bishop advertised the Archbishop, and desired from him directions what further to do against her.

Inquiry after Cotton.

The Archbishop and Commissioners ecclesiastical being desirous to take Cotton the Papist before mentioned, that lay skulking in Norfolk, upon ill designs, but was fled and gone; the Bishop of Norwich made it his business to inquire more narrowly after him, and such as were acquainted with him. And it was discovered, that one of Cotton's secret friends was Sir Peter Kilburn, Priest, that lived within the precinct of the cathedral church, and was Parson of Lepworth, in the county of Suffolk; who had helped him in making his escape. This Sir Peter the Bishop caused to be called before Mr. Drury, Dr. Gardiner, and his Chancellor, and to be examined upon sundry articles: by which they found he was an ill-disposed person, and subtile in his answers. Dr. Gardiner sent a letter to the Bishop after their examination of Kilburn, and the articles ministered to him. Both which the Archbishop had conveyed to him by the said Bishop. Whereby it appeared, that he was acquainted with Cotton more than a year past; was several times in his company at the house of Mr. Downes; that there the said Cotton uttered at two several times words condemning the present time, and the religion to be

Kilburn, a dangerous Priest.

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schismatical; that the said Cotton sent him a book, made by one Giles Coventre, B. D. sometime a Friar in Norwich, entitled, *De Primatu Romani Pontificis*, writ against the Queen's supremacy, and in defence of the Pope's jurisdiction. And that he received commendations from Cotton about fourteen days past, by one that named himself Chapman, of Debnam market. But that fellow being examined before the Mayor of Norwich, called himself Keltsal, of Halsworth, a jester, or chirurgeon. This man, Sir Peter rewarded with 6*s*. 8*d*. and good cheer. Moreover, it was found, that Sir Peter used a pair of beads in Christ's church, which, he said, he had then burnt; and upon search in his chest, fair covered with cloths and pillows upon them, they found one image of Christ, with his cross upon his back, three other tables, two of wood, and one of alabaster, with gilded images of the Trinity, Christ crucified, and of our Lady, a superaltar, a mass-book with a *portuus*, the case of a chalice, a letter from Mr. John Downs of Hebworth, wherein was written, that he should receive money by Mr. Cotton. This Sir Peter seemed simple; but in Dr. Gardiner's judgment he was a subtile fox. For he answered directly to nothing, but with oaths, which were rife in his mouth, (a note, saith the same Gardiner, of a Papist,) and with stammering and doubling his tale would pass over the matter, and would not confess that he either conveyed Cotton away, or that he knew where he was. This was the substance of Gardiner's letter to the Bishop, March 20, 1572.

Thus could Popish Priests in those times swallow the oath of supremacy, and other oaths required, and renounce the Pope, and subscribe the Articles of Religion; and so enjoy their livings and preferments the better, and the more undiscovered, to serve their Catholic cause.

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CHAP. XIV.

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The Archbishop an umpire between Dr. Willoughby and his tenant. Snoring, Alborough, Dr. Willoughby's livings; deprived of both, and why. The Queen's favour for him. The Archbishop's proceedings with Stowel for two wives. The Earl of Leicester offended with the Archbishop. His discreet course hereupon. His stout and resolute spirit in doing justice. How far he followed his lawyers.

Anno 1572. An honorary umpire, in a private case. Dr. Willoughby one party.

ABOUT October our Archbishop was an honorary umpire, in a private case between a Minister and his tenant. Which it seemed somewhat too mean a matter for an Archbishop to be employed in; were it not, that it had been the Queen's pleasure, that the decision of the matter should be left to the Archbishop; and that one of the persons concerned, whose name was Dr. Willoughby, was in former times a man of note and eminency, having been of Queen Anne's Council, her physician, and so known to Queen Elizabeth; and had obtained great preferments. Among others, he enjoyed the benefices of Snoring and Alborough, in Suffolk: to which there was annexed a Court Baron, the profits whereof he held and enjoyed. He had also the living of St. Michael, Cornhill, London. But he was now become, by reason of age, (being near an hundred years old,) doting and childish, and very foolishly prodigal and expensive; as of late he had spent four pounds for painting of a pulpit; though, by reason of his need, he had pawned divers pieces of his plate for money. He had also a sort of people about him, that by their flatteries had deprived him of many things. By which means he was involved much in debt. He had been also very negligent of his living of Alborough. The chancel was fallen quite down, and the vicarage house almost decayed, in his incumbency. And the town, being a great people bordering upon the sea, was many times unserved. Insomuch, that at the Archbishop's metropolitical visitation there, more exclamation was made against him

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than against any other in Norfolk or Suffolk. But then Willoughby made the Archbishop a promise that he would build up the house and chancel, though it should cost him an hundred pounds, or more: for which it seems he then lay under sequestration. All his benefices he had farmed out good cheap. That of Alborough to one Stiles of Norwich: and from Stiles it was farmed to Levers of London. But Willoughby had neglected a statute, which required the reading of the Articles on some Sunday before the Nativity of Christ, last past, upon pain of deprivation *ipso facto;* and so had incurred deprivation. Whereupon Levers was put by the enjoying of the farm of Alborough, which he had taken of Willoughby. And this caused a suit between them. For the Queen, out of particular favour to Willoughby, now grown old, presented him again to the living. Levers upon this required to hold the farm still.

His discreet decision.

The Archbishop thus decided the whole business. He discharged Levers; yet suffered him to go away with the whole year's rent, after the incumbent's deprivation. And then as to Willoughby, he took care that he might have a sufficient subsistence during his life. For the Archbishop agreed with the Parson of Snoring to pay Willoughby yearly 14*l.* with the Vicar of Alborow, to pay him 14*l.* and with the farmer of St. Michael's, Cornhill, (who paid him before but 11*l.*) to pay him now 15*l.* a year. The Archbishop had also recovered divers parcels of his plate, pawned to the value of 24*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* and had so ordered matters for him, that, all his incomes laid together, he might receive twenty shillings a week for his maintenance. But then a farther care of the Archbishop was concerned for the reparations, and the better supply of the cure for the time to come. Now towards the charges of the dilapidations of the house, and payment of the fruits, he awarded Wil- 372 loughby ten pounds yearly pension for two years. And after the expiration of the two years, fourteen pounds by the year, being as much as ever he received. And to supply the vicarage, he placed one Rob. Norton, B.D. a learned

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man and a good preacher; who was to live among them: for the country also had solicited the Archbishop, that they might have a learned man among them.

Yet complained of.

But Levers liked not this award, and found means to complain to the Queen and Lord Treasurer against the Archbishop, saying that he had dealt partially, and that Willoughby was his cousin. Which occasioned the Archbishop to write his letter to the Lord Treasurer. Wherein, for his own justification, he inclosed the bills of both parties, and his arbitrament: telling the said Lord, after his blunt way, that he was no more akin to Willoughby than the man in the moon. "Professing before God and her "Highness, that he had done as effectuously as he ought "to have done for himself. And as for the putting that "person to supply the place, he took it, as he said, to be a "good discharge to the Queen's conscience, to have such "a man to be preferred, and continued in that populous "fisher-town. And lastly, if these his doings were not "thought reasonable, he referred it to her Majesty's consi-"deration. In which regard he reserved a claim in the "arbitrament."

Dr. Willoughby subscribed not, and so was deprived by the Bishop.

Some time before this, matter of contention happened between this Willoughby and the Bishop of the diocese, who had collated another to his benefice. Which coming to the Queen's ear, she took offence at this dealing with her mother's old servant. For in the year 1571, the Parliament enacted a law to reform disorders touching Ministers of the Church. Which was to oblige all such to declare their assent unto, and to subscribe, the Articles of Religion, set forth anno 1562, before the Bishop of the diocese. And the Bishop was to give under his seal a testimonial of such assent and subscription. And the Minister was on one Sunday before Christmas ensuing, openly in the time of public service afore noon, to read in his church or churches such testimonial and the said Articles, upon pain of deprivation, and all his ecclesiastical promotions to be void, as though he were dead. Hereupon did Dr. Willoughby lose Alborough, and also his other living, having not subscribed the

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said Articles, nor read what was enjoined. The Queen presented to the former. And to his other living, lying void six months, the Bishop collated as by lapse, placing therein a learned preacher. But the old man complained to the Queen of that *hard usage* (as he called it) of the Bishop towards him. The Queen, having compassion on him, ordered the Earl of Leicester to write to the Bishop, which he did in November this year, signifying how displeased she was with him for this; and that he found her Majesty greatly tendered the poor man's case; and that her pleasure was, that the Doctor should be either restored to his livings, or that by his answer he should shew some reasonable cause why it should be otherwise. To this the Bishop, December the 2d, gave answer to this tenor; "That the said Doctor "Willoughby was not deprived by him, but by act of the "last Parliament he was *ipso facto* deprived for not sub-"scribing to the Articles of Religion mentioned in the said "act, neither read the same accordingly. And understanding "that her Majesty had given away one of the said livings, "called Alborough, to one Mr. Norton, B. D. by virtue of "the said act, he was so bold to bestow the other falling in "his lapse upon an honest learned preacher. With whom "notwithstanding he had taken order, that the old Doctor "should truly be answered of such stipend yearly, as he "had hitherto enjoyed: so as he was not hindered by such "deprivation. That yet there was good cause to think "well, that two so good cures should now have so meet "incumbents. He added, that if he had understood the "said Doctor to have been physician to her Majesty's mo-"ther, and in such favour, he would have given knowledge "of the danger he was in, that the same might have been "foreseen. But thinking him to have sufficient living by "practising of physic, and his other livings, he was the "bolder to bestow the other; wherein he trusted her High-"ness would not be offended. Not doubting, but that his "Honour upon this answer would signify the truth to the "Queen, and so procure her Majesty's good will towards "him, that would not willingly deserve the contrary, for all

The Queen offended at it.

The Bishop of Norwich to the Earl of Leicester. MSS. R. P. Joh. Ep. Elien.

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"the world. So should he be most bounden, as before, to "pray for the prosperous estate of his Honour long to endure. At Ludham."

Gayton, Curate of Snoring. Part of a register.

The preacher put into the foresaid living of Snoring was named Richard Gayton, who, it seems, was so burdened with the payment of the 14*l.* a year assigned him by the Archbishop, (who made him seal an obligation of an hundred marks to him, for the payment thereof to Dr. Willoughby,) that by reason of this pension, first-fruits, and other charges, he had turned it into the hands of Ralph Shelton, Esq. suffering him to take the profits to discharge him. And this answer he gave to the Bishop of Norwich, anno 1576, upon his demand, what benefices he had; answering, but one; and that he kept against his will, for the cause before alleged. But it is time to proceed from this private matter to something else.

His proceedings with one that had two wives. Mr. Stowel.

We next see the Archbishop in a more public capacity, sitting in the ecclesiastical commission, with the Dean of Westminster, Yale, Hammond, Wendesly, Civilians, upon Mr. John Stawel, or Stowel; a gentleman, who had been convented before them for a public offence, that was given by him to the country where he dwelt, *viz.* cohabiting with a gentlewoman as his wife, his former wife being alive. He was also at the same time in the Court of Arches, called there by his former wife, to shew cause why she ought not to be restored unto him. In both Courts he would make no answer. For the Dean of the Arches had demanded of him, to make him answer, whether he were married, or no, to the gentlewoman with whom he dwelt; but he would give no answer. And before the Commissioners he also denied to answer, except they would deliver the articles against him in writing; and had a week granted him to deliberate thereon. But when they could not get him to make other answer, the Archbishop, with all their consents, committed him to prison. Stowel had obtained so good favour, both from the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester, that he procured their letters to our Prelate in his behalf. But he was too stiff to be carried away by any person of the

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greatest wealth or honour, from doing justice, and punishing sin. He civilly answered their letters, telling them, that Mr. Stawel had misinformed their Lordships in some parts of the state of his case; and so declared to them the true case; and withal, that he was committed by them before the receipt of their letters. Adding, that he was for his part right sorry, for that he seemed to be a Protestant, that they should be compelled in him to restrain this foul disordered doing, to avoid further example. And besides, to the Lord Treasurer he wrote another more private letter, to vindicate what he had done. It was charged upon the Archbishop, that this rough dealing with this gentleman, in clapping him up in prison, was a discourtesy to Leicester and the Treasurer; but he wrote, "that they might think, if it "pleased them, that the Commissioners meant neither any "lack of duty nor convenient consideration, if they [the "two Lords] knew the whole case, whatsoever their Ho-"nours were informed. And that if they should be dis-"couraged to do justice, for fear of any informers' talk, "they had a warm office. That they were not so brute, "that they could not consider of such men's request as it "became them. And that Master Dean of Westminster, "Mr. Yale, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Wendesly thought it "with him no less cause than to commit him. And so "subscribed himself, *His Lordship's at all reasonable com-"mandment.*"

Leicester highly offended with him.

But proud Leicester, who used not to be denied any thing he required, and thought none dared do it, and especially in a crime wherein himself was but too guilty, grew in a high passion, and stormed exceedingly. The Treasurer observing this, and knowing the bad revengeful temper of the man, privately signified the same unto the Archbishop, and advised him to make endeavour of reconciliation. The good man took his counsel, and writ his letter to Leicester. He prayed also the Treasurer to pacify him, if he were offended: "having, said he, a desire, as it may please God, "to be in favour with such noble personages as be in ser-"vice toward my Lady and Mistress, and especially be

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"favoured of her Majesty, in whom she is contented and "pleased. And however my rude nature may seem other-"wise, yet I would fain use the same." But surely, as he had conceived no good-will to the Archbishop long before, when he espoused and patronised the innovators against his Grace, so he hardly ever after, to his dying day, was in better case with him.

His Christian behaviour hereupon.

The letters the Archbishop sent him to pacify him, with true information how the case of Stowel stood, he would not once vouchsafe, though at leisure, to read, but put them up in his pocket. Which being told the Archbishop, he used these words to the Lord Treasurer, "If the first un-"true information, heard with one ear, weigh so deeply in "credit, that the other ear will not hear the answer, then I "can say no more. I will refer myself to God; but will "do as justice: prudence and honesty shall bear me out at "length."

The stout and unbiassed mind of the Archbishop.

The Lord of Bath [the Bishop, I suppose] was the first that informed the Archbishop of Stowel. But the same Lord, afraid no doubt of the displeasure of the great men at the Court, that favoured Stowel, had now writ letters of comfort to the said gentleman. At which the Archbishop marvelled; and would gladly have seen the letters, that he might compare them with his which ran to another tenor. But the matter was hotly taken; and Mr. Stowel cared not what he spent, so he might have his fair lady, as the Archbishop expressed himself to the Treasurer. And to one he had offered an hundred pounds, and to another of his house two, to mollify the Archbishop in the cause. But the Archbishop told the hundred pound man, that *he rather wished it molten in his belly, than justice, either by him or any of his, should be so bought and sold.* "What "is lawful in this case, said he, I will not dispute; but if "this man, or any other, should procure in this common-"wealth [by such means] *quod expedit*, and so be counte-"nanced out, the realm should have such a blow thereby, "that our posterity shall judge of us, that *money and mas-"tership* wrought all with us in our time. And though we

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"be nothing, and outcasts among the Puritans, and their "great fautors, a shrewd sort of them, as long as God shall "suffer me in this office, I will still anger them, and grieve "them in such matters as they work unjustly." Which last expression would make one think, that the hand of the Puritan was in this; but he glanced undoubtedly at the Earl of Leicester, their great patron.

Advised friendly by the Lord Treasurer.

But however Leicester could not brook this refusal of the Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer could, and was still his true friend, and sent him some friendly admonition in this case by the Dean of Westminster. Which he thanked him for, and said he would follow. The Treasurer let him also know, that some men thought he was carried too much away with Dr. Yale the Civilian. To this he answered, "In good faith, the truth was not so. For when I know, "and can resolve the matter myself, I take none of his coat "to be my counsellors: but I will follow the counsel of "them that fear God." Wisely and piously spoken.

Defers Stowel's case.

In fine, the most the Archbishop could be brought to was to defer the matter for some time; taking occasion so to do, from Stowel's counsellor's words, saying, that if he should answer directly to the Commissioners' demands, *viz.* whether he were married to the second, or not, it might have been prejudicial to him in the Audience Court. Whereupon the Archbishop deferred the matter a while, that he might receive no prejudice there. And being then under a distemper, probably the stone, he was compelled not to hear causes for the present. So he appointed Stowel to be before him next day, with the Dean of Westminster, to defer the cause. And he sent to his Chancellor to cease in his Court for a time. Which he said he did, because he would not have them [*viz.* the Lord Treasurer and other great Ministers of the Court] which were supreme Justices suspected, as though we durst not, said he, for their letters' request, to deal in justice. For it would have highly reflected upon their justice, if they should have stopped the course of justice in other courts.

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BOOK IV.

CHAP. XV.

375 *The Archbishop's judgment of Campion, by his book of Ireland. Conferences with him about the year* 1580. *Books writ against his* Ten Reasons. *Harbourers of him. Indictment against him and other Priests. Lovelace, the Archbishop's lawyer. Saunders the Jesuit. His book* De Visibili Monarchia. *The Archbishop sent to, to have it answered. His thoughts of it; and the Bishop of Ely's.*

Anno 1572. His judgment of Campion.

ABOUT the beginning of this month of November, the Lords of the Council had sent the Archbishop and Commissioners a packet of letters, that came from beyond sea; letters, as it seems, that were intercepted, being directed to Papists here, in order to the carrying on some Papistical designs. Whereupon the Commissioners examined divers persons, but could find no great matter. But by their diligence upon some information, they got a book written by Campion of the history of Ireland. Which the Archbishop sent to the Lord Treasurer, desiring him to communicate it to the Earl of Leicester, being dedicated to him. The Archbishop liked the wit of the writer; which made him wish Campion might be reclaimed, or recovered. For he saw, as he told the Lord Treasurer, by that wit, that he were worthy to be made of.

The pains taken with him to reduce him.

This value the Archbishop set upon him, was no doubt a main reason that moved the Lord Treasurer afterwards, when he was apprehended, to order so much pains to be taken with him by our Divines; and not merely out of a bravado to dispute with him for a victory. He had, indeed, made a public challenge to the Ministers of the English Church to dispute with them, in his book of the *Ten Reasons*, a neat well-penned treatise, in defence of the doctrine of the Church of Rome. I will, upon this occasion, say something more of this matter. In the year 1580, he was seized by some of Secretary Walsingham's spies. And because the challenge, if not answered, might reflect upon our

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Church, but chiefly to gain him over, if possible, according to what the Archbishop eight years before had advised; there were divers learned men sent to discourse with him in the Tower. Though he would then have shifted off all conference; and when he was disputed with, he answered not those expectations that were had of him, as many wise and learned ear-witnesses testified. But the Queen's Council, and the Lord Treasurer especially, took great care about these conferences with him. The course at first taken wanted either order, or moderation, or convenient respect of admitting men to be hearers: and so became both fruitless and hurtful; being subject to great harm by reporters; especially the Popishly affected; who cried out *Victory* every where on Campion's side. Therefore Mr. Thomas Norton, a learned man before mentioned, devised a regular method of conferring with him, as I have exhibited it out of his own paper, presented to the Lord Treasurer, and placed in the Appendix. Anno 1572. N° LXXIV.

A regulated conference with him.

This course was approved; and accordingly there was a conference with Campion after that manner; that is, the objections were set down in writing, and then were read; so as the parties acknowledged them to be their own, before any answer or reply were made unto them. And then likewise the answers and replies were writ also with the same faithfulness. And this greatly satisfied the hearers. Nor did Campion that whole day complain, that Norton, who was the writer, did him wrong in any one word, but always confessed, that his sayings were rightly conceived, and truly set down. By which means, confusion was avoided, by-talk was cut off; and he was hardly driven to the wall: what he had once granted, he could not resume. And the cause of the Protestant side was not subject to such false reports of his favourers. The notes of this last conference the Lord 376 Treasurer sent to Norton for. This happened the latter end of September, 1580.

His book answered by divers.

But besides the conferences our Divines had with Campion, his book also, of which he had such a fond opinion, received divers answers. Dr. Whitaker gave a solid answer

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thereto in print. Another answer I meet with in MS. composed by Sir William Herbert, a learned Knight; dedicating his writing to the Queen. This Sir William Herbert (to note this by the way) wrote a letter to a pretended Roman Catholic, which was printed in the year 1586. Where, upon occasion of a controversy touching the Church, the 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters of the Revelations are expounded. Dr. Toby Matthew also, afterwards Archbishop of York, preached a Latin sermon against the said Campion, from that text, Deut. xxxii. 7. afterwards printed in the year 1638, entitled, *Concio Apologetica contra Campianum.*

The high opinion conceived by some concerning him.

But the Roman Catholic party conceived great opinion of him for learning and honesty. For, (that I may take up some more of the story of him here,) not long after his execution, which was in the month of December, 1581, one Oliver Plucket did affirm of Campion, that he was discreet and learned, and thought in his conscience he was an honest man; and that he would have convinced the Doctors of Divinity that disputed with him, if he might have been heard with indifferency. For which words the said Plucket was cited before the Wardmote inquest of St. Andrew's, Holborn; and Fleetwood, the City Recorder, committed him to ward.

His harbourers.

There were many brought into trouble for entertaining him at their houses, and for hearing him say Mass there; and for accompanying him from one place to another: namely, these that follow; Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Catesby. Who being severally informed, that Campion had confessed that he was at their houses, whereof the direct confessions were read to them, they were required to purge themselves by oath, and the Lord Vaux by his honour, before the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of Leicester, whether Campion was with them. But they refused so to do. And afterwards being charged in her Majesty's name, and upon their allegiance, yet they peremptorily refused to answer. But to these that were troubled for harbouring Campion are divers others to be added, *viz.* Henry Perpoynt, Jervys Perpoynt,

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Sacheverell, Langford, Esq. the Lady Fuljans, Ayres, Tempest, Rookeby of Yeaford, Dr. Vavasor, Mrs. Bulmer, Sir William Babthorp, Grimston, Hawkesworth, More; these six last of Yorkshire: Asculph, Clesby, William Harrinton, at whose house he made part of his Latin book. These following of Lancashire; Talboth, Southworth, Hesketh, Mrs. Allen, Haughton, Weston, Rygmayden. Add moreover, Pryce, Griffith, Lady Stoners, Est, Lady Babbington, Mrs. Pollard, Yeat.

Others indicted with Campion.

When Campion was indicted, divers others were intended to be indicted with him; whose names were these, as I find them in a rough draught of the indictment itself; Dr. William Allen, Dr. Nicholas Moreton, Robert Parson, James Bosgrave, William Filby, Thomas Ford, Thomas Cotham, Laurence Richardson, John Colliton, Rafe Sherwin, Luke Kirby, Robert Johnson, Edward Rushton, Alexander Briant, Short, Henry Orton, a Civilian; all Jesuits or Priests, but the last. But the Queen would not allow that all these should be indicted; and so there were only four; namely, Campion, Sherwin, Kirby, and Briant; who were accordingly executed. I will make only one remark concerning the indictment of these men; which is this, that it runs not in any one word against their religion, but for treason against the Queen: "For contriving at Rome and Rheims, "and other parts beyond the sea, to deprive the Queen, "their supreme Lady, of her royal state and power; and "to take away her life, and to stir up sedition in her king-"doms; and to raise a rebellion and insurrection among "the Queen's subjects; and to change and alter the go-"vernment of the kingdom, and the sincere religion esta-"blished there; and to subvert the whole state; and to "incite strangers in a hostile manner to invade the kingdom, "and to make war against the Queen; and for holding se-"veral communications among themselves in the parts be-"yond sea, by what means and ways they might compass the "death and final destruction of the Queen, and levy a sedi-"tion in her kingdom. And that for that end and purpose "they had excited, by their letters, foreigners to invade the 377

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"kingdoms; and that they came into England to stir up "the Queen's subjects to give their aid to these foreigners, "which they should bring into the kingdom." But I crave pardon of the reader for this digression, occasioned by the mention of Campion.

The Archbishop refuses Lovelace the place of steward of the liberties.

In the month of November, Justice Manwood being preferred, who had been steward of the liberties to the Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer wrote to him to put Sergeant Lovelace into that place. This Lovelace had been long time of the Archbishop's learned counsel in the law, and he frequently paid him his fee. He was the steward also of the liberties of his church. This Lovelace was he, I suppose, whom, anno 1565, the Court of King's Bench assigned Bonner for counsel, against Horn, Bishop of Winchester, with Christopher Wray, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Ployden, the famous lawyer. But the Archbishop refused to yield the said Lovelace that place, partly because Manwood had before requested it of the Archbishop for a friend of his; and he said, Lovelace had never made mention to him of that matter, though he had been long in his company; and because he had told one of the Archbishop's servants, that though he should obtain that place, he should not long hold it, having a prospect shortly of being otherwise placed. But yet the Archbishop did freely tell the Lord Treasurer, that in case he was free, and had not passed his promise to Manwood, he should not accept Lovelace for his officer of that place, because he was steward of the liberties of the church. Caring not, I suppose, to heap up too many offices upon one single person, or thinking it not convenient, lest one office might interfere upon the other.

Some account of Nic. Sanders.

About this time one Nicolas Sanders, D. D. grew famous for his books and his malice. He had lived for some time in the King of Spain's Court. A man wholly addicted to the Pope, and that King, and a most inveterate enemy of the Queen and the Reformation. Something of his temper may be seen in a paper, that the reader may find in the Appendix, consisting of divers passages, extracted out of one of

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his books, which, I suppose, were collected together by some person appointed for that purpose, in order to be more particularly considered and answered, for the vindication of the Queen and kingdom.

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Endeavours used to make him a Cardinal.

This Sanders (that I may mention a few more matters of him in this place) was of such a hot and zelotical temper, and so eager for the restoring of the old religion in England, and of that supposed learning too, that the rest of the English fugitives, that were at Bruxelles, concluded him to be the fittest person to solicit the Pope upon all occasions in this behalf. And because he who was to be employed to his Holiness ought to be no obscure person, but of some rank and authority; therefore divers of the fugitives, English Romanists, writ a letter to the King of Spain, while Sanders was at the Court, desiring him that he would write commendatory letters to the Pope to make him Cardinal, and that his Catholic Majesty would confer upon him some ecclesiastical benefit or pension, to incline the Pope the rather thereunto. They told the King in that letter, "that among other things which hindered the restoration of the liberty of the Catholic religion in England, one was, that they wanted a man of their own nation of some name and authority, that might solicit their cause with his Holiness. For they found by experience, that in the Pope's Court, as well as in that of other Princes, small matters were more readily heard, when propounded by illustrious persons, than matters of far greater moment, when those that propounded them were more obscure. Therefore they fled to his Catholic Majesty, beseeching him, that he would intercede with the Pope, that Sanders, then being at his Court, might be promoted to the dignity of a Cardinal. Which, they said, the Pope would the rather be invited to do, if his Majesty would settle upon the said Sanders some ecclesiastical income." The whole letter I have inserted in the Appendix. I am apt to think this was a device of Sanders himself, and some of his friends; and that he had secretly procured this letter to be wrote, thirsting after honour and

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BOOK IV. wealth. But either the King or the Pope, it seems, thought not fit to vouchsafe him that dignity. Though the argument itself, why one of the English nation should be preferred thereunto, held good in their account. For upon that reason, Dr. Allen, another of the same strain, was made Cardinal about the year 1587 or 1588.

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His letter instigating the Irish nobility to rebellion.

I meet also with a letter he wrote, anno 1580, to some of the Irish Papist lords and gentlemen, who were not so forward to take up arms, and rebel against the Queen; instigating them thereunto, and expostulating sharply with them for their fighting under her, as some of them did. This letter I strongly suspect to be one of those very letters which were found in his pouch after he was dead. Of which letters and papers there were good store, as Camden relates, written to confirm the rebels with promises from the Pope and King of Spain. In this letter he asked them, "What bewitched them to fight for heresy against the true "faith of Christ; for the Devil against God; for those that "robbed them of their goods, lands, and lives, and eternal "salvation, against their own brethren? What they meant, "to take so great pains, and put themselves into such hor-"rid danger of body and soul, for a wicked woman, "[meaning the Queen,] neither begotten in true wedlock, "nor esteeming her Christendom, and therefore deprived "by the Vicar of Christ, and her lawful judge; forsaken "of God, who justified the sentence of his Vicar; for-"saken of all Catholic princes; forsaken of divers lords, "knights, and gentlemen of England, who ten years past "took the sword against her, and yet stood in the same "quarrel?" With a great deal more impious affront of the Queen. He told them moreover, "That the Pope would "take order, that the crown should rest in none other but "Catholics. And that the next heir would account all "them for traitors that spent their goods in maintaining an "heretic against his true title and right. He asked them, "what they would answer the Pope's Lieutenant, when he, "bringing, as he would shortly, the aids of the Pope, and "other Catholic princes, should charge them with the

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"crime and pain of heretics, for maintaining an heretical "pretended Queen against the public sentence of Christ's "Vicar. Could the Queen's supremacy absolve them from "the Pope's excommunication and curse? Would they "not stain themselves and their noble houses with the sus-"picion of heresy and treason? And if the Catholic heir "to the royal crown of England should call upon the exe-"cution of the laws of the Church, they should lose their "good lands and honours, and undo their wives, children, "and houses for ever. He bade them see before their eyes, "how Henry VIII. by breaking the unity of Christ's "Church, his house was now cut off and ended; and "hereby they should bring their own houses to the like "end. He bade them mark Sir William Drury's end, who "was the General against the Pope's army. That they "should not think their part too weak, seeing God fought "for them. And that whereas once they had money, men, "and armour, to begin the battle, God took them all away "by strange means, and sent them thither as it were naked, "to the end it should be evident unto all the world, that "this war was not the war of men, but the war of God, "who of small beginnings worketh wonderful ends." This letter will not be unacceptable to the reader, and therefore I have put it into the Appendix.

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Bishop Andrews's character of Sanders.

And as his venomous pen spared none, no, not his country, his sovereign, so the friends to both did not use to spare him. One of our writers, and he none of the lowest rank, gives him these names, upbraiding those that would give any credit to him, so notorious for falsehood and calumniation: *Illum perditum transfugam, virulentum calumniatorem, nefarium patriæ proditorem, &c.* "That desperate "renegade, that malicious slanderer, that wicked traitor to "his native country, and slain in the very act of his trea-"son, yet first, by God's just hand, struck with madness: "it is sufficiently known to the whole world how many "monstrous lies he hath heaped up in his infamous book, "*De Schismate*, and how many in his other writings. "Which falsehoods almost all the rest [of the Roman

Tertur. Tort. p. 143.

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"writers] draw out of this father of lies. Let any one only "hear them, and not be acquainted with the matter, if his "mind be not plunged all over with ill-will, he would "immediately spit at them. For they betray themselves, "they are so foul and foolish.—His forehead was a rock, "and his tongue a razor." Thus that reverend man makes bold with him.

Care taken for the answering his book *De Visibili Monarchia.*

379 In this year, 1572, came into England a book of this man's writing, printed the last year, entitled, *De Visibili Monarchia.* Which making such foul representations of our English affairs, and giving such dishonourable accounts of the former princes, and the Reformation, it was thought fit to have it answered. And for that purpose, the Lord Treasurer sent Goodman, Dean of Westminster, to our Archbishop, with letters to him, partly to know how he and the rest of the Commissioners proceeded in public matters, and partly to signify his desire and his counsel for the answering of the book. The book had been brought in not long before by one Andrewes. And at the Parliament chamber the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer had sundry discourses; wherein that Lord advised him to see to the answering of it. And now the Archbishop, having been called upon again by the Lord Treasurer, sent him word, "that as for Sanders's babbling book, he saw few "men either able or willing to answer it, not for the invin-"cibleness of it, but for the huge volume. He thought "the Bishop of Sarum, for Englishmen, had written suf-"ficiently. And as for common matters in Latin, partly "Germans, and partly others, have largely answered. So "that their leisure, he said, might suffer them to write "what they would, and yet would never be answered, "though we had leisure to attend upon it."

The Archbishop takes up all the books of this subject that he could meet with.

Our Archbishop happened upon half a score of these books by this means. He, with other of the Commissioners, had taken order with such booksellers as sold foreign books in England, to bring their inventories first, before they vended them. And having bound them so to do, he believed they did bring true accounts of their books to them.

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And among their inventories he found the aforesaid number of these traitorous books. And he distributed almost all of them, except one or two, to some such men whom he thought meet to peruse them. And among the rest, to the Bishop of Ely one. Because I suppose he considered him an old courtier, and one that was acquainted with the matters and transactions in King Henry's days; and so able to perceive the false and malicious suggestions of Sanders in that book. And this Bishop had done most of any of the rest: for he took the pains, and had the patience, to read quite over that long book, *qui vel Fabium delassare valeat*, as the Archbishop told the Lord Treasurer. And the said Bishop writ the Archbishop his judgment, that the book was not so strong, but that it might be answered; and he divided it into certain parts, and wished such and such men to take those distinct parts in hand: one for such a part, and another for another.

CHAP. XVI.

The Archbishop commits some part of Sanders's book to Dering, to answer. The temper and spirit of that man. The Archbishop contrives the answering of that book. One he pitched upon for this work was Dr. Clerk of the Arches. His abilities. The Archbishop assists him. His account of King Henry's divorce; and of the supremacy. Day prints his book.

Sends one of them to the Bishop of Ely. Delivers some quires of it to Deering the Puritan.

AND this was all that the Archbishop had yet done in relation to Sanders's newly published book. Only to assay the judgment and abilities, as he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, of the "greatest learned man in England," Mr. Dering, (sarcastically so termed by the Archbishop, but agreeably to the vogue of the Puritan party, who had so given him out,) to the said Dering he had delivered four or five quires of the first part of the book. Which he sometime after returned back, together with some answer framed by him thereunto: but by no means liked of the Archbi-

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572.

shop; for he told the Treasurer; "It was in such sort con-futed, as too much childishness appeared." More passion, he meant, and such like, than solid answer.

Some account of Dering.

And here upon occasion of the mention of Dering, let me in this place be allowed to digress a little, in giving some account of him; and that, because he was one of the head Puritans in his days, and a person of some authority, being Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and of a good family in Kent. He was also esteemed a great preacher and a great scholar in London and in Cambridge. He did conform, indeed, to the use of the cap and surplice, and bore with the calling of Bishops and Archbishops, though he liked neither, and was earnest to have them abolished. As he was a man of great confidence and assurance, so he was of as great zeal and heat; and would take the freedom to speak his mind to the highest, as he did often to the Lord Treasurer Burghley. Who having sent down, not long before, some new statutes to Cambridge, as their Chancellor, upon the complaints of the Heads of that University against the tumults and disorders, occasioned by such who spake against and disobeyed the ecclesiastical orders, and against the jurisdiction and superiority of Bishops; Mr. Dering presumed to write a long letter to him, dated November 18, 1570, charging him highly for so doing; saying, that he had sent *unrighteous statutes* to Cambridge. He believed, he said, he was moved to do this by the information of the Heads, that there were great troubles there; but on the other hand, Deering informed him, that there was good quietness, in respect of the tumults that his statutes brought; telling him, if he did not believe him, he did him wrong, being a Minister of Christ. That the Doctors and Heads had procured him to enjoin new statutes, to the utter undoing of them that feared God; and to the burdening of their consciences, that dared not yield unto sin. And then he proceeded to shew what kind of men these Doctors and Heads were, to whom he had given such credit: namely, Dr. Pern, of Peter house; Dr. Harvey, of Trinity hall; Dr. Caius, Founder and Master of Caius col-

His letter to the Chancellor of Cambridge upon the new statutes.

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lege; Dr. Hawford, Master of Christ's; Dr. Ithel, Master of Jesus. He said, they were all either enemies of God's Gospel, or so faint professors, that they did little good in the Church. That he would not tell their private faults; but he knew so many, as, if his Lordship feared God, it would grieve him to see such Masters of colleges. That Dr. Harvey had scarce chosen one Protestant to be Fellow these twelve years. [That is, from the time he was put in Master, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to that time.] That Dr. Pern kept such Curates as fled away beyond the seas: [meaning, that turned Roman Catholics, and went thither for the profession and exercise of their religion.] That Dr. Hawford could not be brought to take away neither Popish books nor garments without great importunity; and, in the end, all the best and richest he conveyed, none of the Fellows knew whither. Of Dr. May, of Katharine hall, and Dr. Chaderton, of Queen's, he said, there was small constancy, either in their lives or in their religion. That Dr. Whitgift, of Trinity college, was a man whom he had loved; but yet he was a man, and God had suffered him to fall into great infirmities; so froward a mind against Mr. Cartwright, and other such, bewrayed a conscience full of sickness. That his affections ruled him, and not his learning, when he framed his cogitations to get new statutes. I observe here, by the way, of what Masters he is silent: namely, of Pembroke hall, who was Dr. Fulk; of Magdalen, Dr. Kelk; of St. John's, Longworth, or Shepherd; of Bene't, Aldrich; of King's, Dr. Goad. And these were Puritans, or favourers of them.

After Dering had charged Sir William Cecyl home with these statutes, he advised him to make some reparations. "That he, that had been brought so easily to hurt God's "people, to do pleasure to the Pope, and with so fearful "statutes (I repeat his words) had proceeded to the pu-"nishment of so small offences, should make some good "statutes that might punish sin." And particularly, to send down a new statute, that no Master of an house should have a benefice, except he served it himself.

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Disliked by some noble persons, and why.

This Dering was disliked by the Bishops, and some other great personages, and men of countenance, and charged by them to be a vain man, and full of fancies. The reason whereof was, as he gave it himself, that he would boldly tell them of their common swearing by the name of God, and of their covetousness. He would complain much of Papists; which in twelve years, during which space the Queen had reigned, had never received the Sacrament. He spoke against their courtly apparel; that it was not meet for such as should be more sober. He would not accompany and consort with such as were open persecutors of the Church of God. It grieved him to see a benefice of a great parish given from a spiritual pastor to a temporal man: and that, for an hundred pound in gold, the Bishop should give his good-will to grant a lease of a benefice for an hundred years to come. These and such like things, when he observed, he would freely speak his mind of; and perhaps was too apt to believe and spread slanderous reports, especially of Bishops. The letter of this man to Sir William Cecyl, out of which I have collected, for the most part, what is mentioned before, I have reposited in the Appendix.

Number LXXVIII.

Read a lecture in Paul's.

He read lectures in St. Paul's. But he had vented such doctrines there, that he was convented before the Lords, and forbid to read any more in that place. In his readings there, he condemned the quoting of Fathers in pulpits; styling it, filling the pulpits with Doctors and Councils, and many vanities, where they should only speak the word of God. "Did "I speak," said he, "out of the Fathers, and knew it not to "be the word of God, be it never so true in the Doctors' "mouth, in mine it is sin, because I speak not as I am taught "of God." He in these lectures was a zealous assertor of the sufferings of Christ's soul in his passion: saying, "He "suffered, for our sakes, not only the torments of his body, "but the anguish of his soul, and the wrath of his Father. "Fy upon those blasphemous speeches, and cursed words, "which say, he suffered nothing but bodily pain." He taught such doctrines as seemed to derogate from the civil

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power, and to free good Christians from earthly magistrates: saying, "that God had made a Christian lord of "all; and in heaven and earth we have no lord but the "Lord Jesus. By faith we are one with him; his power is "ours: we reign with him, we are risen with him, and the "world hath no more power over us." What shall we think of such servile men, who will lead us into bondage of every trifle, whom Christ hath made rulers over all the world? As though he held the doctrine of *dominion founded in grace*. These and such like unwary expressions, not to say worse, were vented by him in his readings upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were printed. And which, I suppose, might be the occasion that his readings were restrained by authority. Of this man we shall hear more under the next year.

The method intended by the Archbishop for answering Sanders's book.

After this small deviation, we return again to Sanders's book. Burghley sent, not long after, a message by the Dean of Westminster again, to have this obnoxious book answered by all means, which the Archbishop by his last letter seemed to him not to be warm enough in. But the careful Prelate had not been unmindful of it. For he had laboured certain men, who were at good leisure, to do somewhat: which were for a shew to be first sent out to the readers, both English and strangers. And intending also, according as the Bishop of Ely had advised, to have the book taken into distinct parts; and so to be confuted: namely, so much of it as concerned the honour and state of the realm; the dignity and legitimation of the Prince, with the just defence of King Henry's honour, Queen Anne's, and particularly the Lord Burghley's own, as he was by name touched, from page 686 to page 739.

Dr. Clerk employed in answering it.

The first and chief that he employed in this business was Bartholomew Clerk, of King's college, who had lately proceeded Doctor of Law in Cambridge; and for whose more estimation the Archbishop had credited him with a room in the Arches. Of him, he said, he doubted not but he would sufficiently deal in the matter; and that he should not want his advice and diligence. And for some particular

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matters, which were not known to the Archbishop, he trusted, he said, to have his Lordship's counsel. Burghley himself had such an opinion of this man's abilities, that he had employed him, about this time, in some other work. But the Archbishop entreated his Lordship, that he would respite the said Clerk, that this might be the sooner done. Yet before the Lord Burghley cared that he should engage in such a business, he required him to get a testimonial from the University: which he did. And Dr. Byng, Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Whitgift, Public Professor of Divinity, gave this character of him, under their hands: "Not only that he had taken the degree of Doctor of Civil "Law; but that, as well in replying as answering, he did "so learnedly demean himself, that he had thereby not "only much increased the good opinion long since con-"ceived of his towardness; but also obtained a right com-"mendable report of those that bore the chief name among "them for that faculty."

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His testimonial.

Orders Day to cast a new Italian letter.

The Archbishop had, furthermore, for the better accomplishment of this piece, and others that should follow, spoken to Day the printer, to cast a new Italian letter, which would cost him forty marks. But notwithstanding the charge, he was in hand with it.

Some sheets of the answer sent to the Lord Treasurer;

Before the one and twentieth of December, Dr. Clerk had made an introduction into his task that the Archbishop set him, against the foul talk of Sanders. For on that day the Archbishop sent the first specimen in sheets to the Lord Treasurer Burghley to consider of, praying him to return his allowance or disallowance; and how he judged of the beginning, and whether the writer should go forward, or in what sort.

With his opinion thereof.

The Lord Treasurer approved of the writing; and sent the Archbishop word, that he guessed the writer's pen was holden by his hand; so well, it seems, did he like this first specimen. The Archbishop replied, that it was true, that neither he nor any other in such an argument should want either his head or heart, or any of his collections; and that the writer was a pithy man, and apt to deal in such a

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case. And though he were young, yet he doubted little of him. And withal the Archbishop sent this Dr. Clerk to Burghley, to hear his advice. My Lord of Leicester indeed pretended to fear his judgment. And no wonder, for he would ordinarily oppose any thing our good Prelate had an hand in. But in answer to that, he only told the Lord Treasurer in his blunt dialect, that this labour should both betray him, and stay him for hereafter: meaning, that this book of Clerk's should shew to the world of what discretion and judgment and abilities he was, in order to his future advancement.

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Another quire finished.

Towards the latter end of December he completed another quire of his book; which the Archbishop sent on Christmas-day to the Lord Treasurer, to read and peruse. In one or two places the author had given a stroke of his pen against the secret favour and connivance that some enjoyed, who opposed the ecclesiastical rites and customs established in the Church; which the Archbishop used to style *Machiavel-governance*, or by such like terms. Upon these passages in the book, the Archbishop thought convenient to make his remark. Because he thought the Lord Treasurer would reckon that the author had the Archbishop's information and direction herein. But the Archbishop assured him, *before God*, (that was his word,) that that tract was only of himself: nor that he did approve thereof. That indeed, in private and secret letters to his Lordship, he did sometime write of such manner of *Machiavel-governance*, as hearing sometimes wise men talk. But he liked not this particular charge or application, in so open writing, nor by his advice should it be inserted. A notable footstep of the wise and wary temper of this great Prelate.

Machiavel-governance.

The Archbishop's censure of some parts thereof.

Particularly concerning the King's divorce,

As to what the author had writ of the divorce of King Henry VIII. he said, that in his opinion he had handled it well, and as stories might instruct most English. And so he thought that might pass, except he [the Lord Treasurer] knew any more particularities to be added for the more confirmation. Adding, that once the Queen told him

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of a Popish bull, wherein King Henry's marriage with Queen Anne was confirmed; and willed the Archbishop to seek it out; thinking belike it might be among his records; or as being best skilled where to go to look for matters of that nature, himself having been Chaplain to that Queen. The Archbishop accordingly did look among his old registers, and others, whom he thought might have it: but did it as secretly and as prudently as he could, and to his
383 own self. But he could not as yet hear of it, as he informed the Lord Treasurer. For if he had, he would have informed her Highness again thereof. He told the Treasurer, that if he had found it, it would have served well to amplify the falsehood of the Pope, and disprove that *lying* writer Sanders, as he styled him.

And the Prince's supremacy.

He had once made the Treasurer privy to a little discourse of his, both out of history and statute law, to let the world understand what provision had been made beforetime to avouch the Prince's liberty against the Pope's usurpation. This he thought not amiss to be in this place of Dr. Clerk's book treated of. And, but that the eloquence of the writer could hardly be brought to set down the barbarous and strange terms of some laws; yet he would wish the matter to be formed, and the law terms and terms of art to be holpen by circumlocutions. And he prayed his Lordship to say something to Clerk in that argument.

The Archbishop hasteneth this work.

Thus, as our Archbishop took care to have this work done well, so his care also was to have it finished with as much speed as possible. And Day's press being so busy, yet the printing of all other books was laid aside till this was done.

Bishop Parkhurst's Epigrams.

Bishop Parkhurst had sent his ingenious Epigrams to his ancient and dear friend Dr. Wylson, the Master of St. Katharine's, as a new year's gift; which he styled his *good, godly, and pleasant Epigrams*. And by the consent of the said Bishop Wylson, now in February, had offered them to Day to print: which he was forced to delay till after Easter, because of the present work that was upon his hand.

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March following, the Archbishop wrote to the Lord Treasurer, that he had found matter of that bull of the King's marriage: and sent him some more quires of the book: which, with two or three more, would make an end.

CHAP. XVI.

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More sheets sent from the Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer.

CHAP. XVII.

Clerk's and Ackworth's books against Saunders come forth. Characters of them. The Archbishop prefers Clerk to the Arches. But the Queen sends to the Archbishop to remove him. The Archbishop struggles with the Queen on his behalf. His expostulatory letter to her. Clerk visits at Canterbury for the Archbishop. His earnest letter from thence to the Lord Treasurer.

THIS book came out anno 1573, printed by Day, in quarto, and was entitled, *Fidelis servi subdito infideli Responsio, cum examine errorum N. Sanders in libro De Visibili Monarchia:* but it was intended chiefly to answer the calumnies in the seventh book.

The book comes forth.

I cannot find to what persons the Archbishop committed the answering the rest of the parts of Sanders's book, nor whether they were ever done and published. Only Dr. Ackworth, of Cambridge, published a book, entitled Προλεγόμενα, against the said book of Sanders, in the same year, *viz.* 1573, by the said printer Day: and I make no doubt, by the order of the Archbishop. Both these books are published without any name of their authors. But in the Oxford library I have seen their names added, by somebody's pen, in the title-page of the respective books, being bound up both together. In the said Ackworth's book there is a chapter, *viz.* chap. xviii. with a title to this purpose, That Pope Clement VII. did by a private patent, or bull, rescind the King's marriage with Queen Katharine. Which bull the Pope delivered to Campegio, his Nuncio, ordering him to shew it privately to the King, but to reserve it in his own hands. And that afterwards, out of fear of the Emperor, the Pope commanded it to be burnt. This I mention, as

Dr. Ackworth's book against Sanders.

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BOOK IV. that particular bull which Queen Elizabeth spoke of to our Archbishop to look for it. Who after much search found at last the matter of it: and no question communicated it unto this same Ackworth, to make use of it in the book that he should write.

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Some account of Ackworth.

It may not be amiss here to inquire a little who these two scholars were, to whom the Archbishop committed the answering of some part of Sanders's book. Dr. George Ackworth had been Orator of the University of Cambridge; and was he that made a panegyrical oration in public, in honour of Martin Bucer, upon the commission granted by Queen Elizabeth to our Archbishop, and Grindal, Bishop of London, and Dr. Haddon, Professor of Civil Law, to restore the memory of that learned Professor, and of Phagius, the Hebrew Professor. Who had both been digged out of their graves, and their bones burnt, in Queen Mary's reign. His said oration is still extant, being preserved to us by John Fox in his Martyrology. He was after called by the Bishop of Winchester, Horn, to be the Chancellor of his diocese. Whom the said Bishop, in the year 1569, sent to Secretary Cecyl, with a copy of a commission to be granted by the Queen to that Bishop and others, for the better ordering the affairs of his diocese. But Ackworth disliking that place, retired, and put himself into our Archbishop's family, about the year 1570. Which was a kind of common receptacle for learned and ingenuous men. Where he addicted himself to his study, preparing himself for to do service to the Church or his country. So that he wrote his book in the Archbishop's family.

The Archbishop's care of him.

In the troublesome times of Queen Mary he had travelled into France and Italy, and there studied the civil law. Afterwards returning home, the Archbishop took notice of him, and procured him the Orator's place in the University of Cambridge: he gave him a prebend also; and other things Ackworth obtained by his Grace's means: owing all he had to him, as he acknowledged in a letter that remains among that Archbishop's MSS. in Bene't college. The Archbishop called upon him to enter upon

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the study of divinity; which he seemed to decline for the present, upon pretence of making further progress in the study of the law. He afterwards proved a debauched man. For which cause he was deprived of his preferments in England, and went into Ireland. Being here, he laboured by friends at the Court to be a Commissioner for dispensing *faculties* in that kingdom. But he was opposed therein by the Archbishop. For this Court of Faculties was, by an act in Ireland of 28. Henry VIII. vested in the King, who was to appoint Commissioners to execute that office during their lives. These Commissioners were usually Civilians. But now that place is in the Primate of Ireland; King Charles I. having passed a grant, that the Primate of Ireland for the time being should be perpetual Commissioner or Judge of the Faculties. Which was done by the application of Archbishop Usher to the Lord Strafford.

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Some further account of Clerk.

Dr. Bartholomew Clerk was a member likewise of the University of Cambridge, admitted in King's college 1554, a very good scholar, and had an excellent pure Latin style; and was well known, while he was in the University, to the Secretary: who used to take good notice of all the floridest wits there, where he was Chancellor. To him I have seen letters of Clerk's writing, styling him his *Lord and Master*. One whereof was in the year 1568, when the University, in respect to Sir William Cecyl, their Chancellor, and to the memory of Sir John Cheeke, that excellent man, had given his son, Henry Cheeke, the degree of Master of Arts; this Clerk wrote the news thereof to the said Sir William, who was Mr. Cheeke's uncle, entreating him to give his kinsman leave to accept the honour the University had done him.

His favour with great and learned men.

He was tempted with the salary of three hundred crowns to be Public Reader in Angiers, which he refused. For Clerk had studied in Paris, where he was much admired for his oratory, was dear to Edward, Earl of Oxford, (to whom he seemed to have been tutor,) and to Sir Thomas Sackvil, Lord Buckhurst, who entertained him at his house. This Lord put him upon writing a short history of the

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BOOK IV. Queen and her Court. For he was noted for one that had an happy style. Dr. Caius, in a letter to him, bestowed

Anno 1572. this character on him, *Angliæ nostræ gratulor, in qua ille natus est, quem in ipsa Romana lingua et eloquentia paucissimis Romanis scriptoribus non temere postponerem.*

385 "I congratulate our country of England, in which such an "one is born, before whom I should prefer very few Ro-"man writers, even in their own Roman language and "eloquence." While he remained in Cambridge, he often disputed in philosophy and the civil law, and sometimes read rhetoric, wherein Caius aforesaid, a great critic, praised him for his sweet pronunciation and graceful delivery, almost singular to himself. He professed he hardly knew any other, of our own nation or foreigner, that without premeditation spoke so solidly and nervously, or at such length of speech confuted, *ex tempore*, those with whom he disputed. This Clerk translated an Italian book into very neat Latin, wrote by Balthazar Castilion*. The title it bore was *De Aulico*, or The Courtier: and came forth in print anno 1571. And in commendation of the translation it had three letters prefixed, wrote by the Earl of Oxon, the Lord Buckhurst, and Dr. Caius. I add only this more concerning him, that Sir Francis Clerk, of Merton Priory, in Surrey, a good benefactor to Sydney college, Cambridge, as we are told, was his son.

The Bishop makes him his Official in the Arches.

The Archbishop, to reward him, the next year made him his Official in the Arches. In which place he acquitted himself very well. But so much was the Queen wrought upon, either by the Papists' party at Court, or that of the Puritans, and of these I suspect chiefly Leicester, (in whose heart lay a great prejudice against our Archbishop, who greatly favoured Clerk,) that in June, that very year wherein his book came forth, she commanded the Archbishop to remove him, only upon pretence that he was too young to fill up such a place. The Archbishop had granted him the

* Which book had been also translated into English by Sir Thomas Hobby, and called The Courtier.

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place by patent during pleasure, while Dr. Weston, who was Dean of the Arches before, was alive; and after his death, he had his promise of a new patent during life. This went very near the Archbishop, that he should be commanded to deal thus with one of his own officers, whom he had himself preferred, and that for his merits; and that he must lay him aside for so small a matter, as that he was not more in years, or because probably he had been impartial, and decided something against some of Leicester's creatures. This business therefore he resolved to oppose as much as he could.

The Archbishop's management of himself, upon the Queen's command to remove Clerk from the Arches.

But the Archbishop took care herein to manage himself with the greatest wariness and discretion, and seeming compliance with the Queen. So he first told Clerk the Queen's pleasure, and willed him to remove. Which he did again the second time; that is, the day after. And having done this, and received Clerk's answer, he composed a soft letter to the Queen, more covertly in his behalf; and got it presented to her through the Lord Treasurer's hand; which was some advantage to his cause. When the Archbishop first signified to Dr. Clerk to remove from the room of the deanery of the Arches, he immediately said, that he had as lieve forego his life as his office; for thereby he should be utterly undone, being so discredited. And the next morning Clerk came again to the Archbishop with the same intent. When the Archbishop telling him again her Majesty's pleasure that he should depart, he answered, with all submission, that he trusted in the Queen's clemency and justice, that he might have her favour with the right of the law: and said moreover, that Dr. Yale and Dr. Weston were as young as himself when they were preferred; and that he was thirty-six or thirty-seven in years, and had spent all his life in study. All this the Archbishop signified to her Majesty, in the month of June, as shall be seen more largely by and by.

Clerk's memorials to the Archbi-

When the Archbishop had hinted to Clerk that he would write in his behalf to the Queen, Clerk despatched a paper

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BOOK IV.

to him to this import, that he should remember these particularities following.

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I. That Dr. Yale was admitted his Grace's Chancellor, and Vicar General, as himself confessed, at thirty-five; and as appeared in the Arches windows.

II. That the Chancellor to the Archbishop of York was three years Master of Arts after him, and at the least four years younger than he.

III. That Dr. Weston, in the opinion of all men, was admitted Dean of the Arches as young as Clerk: and both Mr. Yale and he [Weston] in their first year of advocation.

386 IV. That whosoever should except against him for insufficiency, he would dispute with him; (and so consequently with all the lawyers in this realm, that shall take that exception;) either before her Grace, or in any University.

V. That the University wrote both to his Grace and the Lord Treasurer, that never any man performed his acts with more commendation.

Finally, That by the laws a man may be a Bishop at thirty. And therefore it were hard, if not Official to a Bishop at six and thirty.

And withal he desired the Archbishop, that if he had already despatched his letter to the Queen before these notices came to his hand, that then he would write to the Lord Treasurer to the same effect; and he would be the messenger. He also got the Lord Buckhurst to go to her Majesty in his behalf.

The Archbishop's letter to the Queen on Clerk's behalf.

But when the Archbishop perceived the Queen's mind, notwithstanding these intercessions, still bent that Clerk should give way, and surrender his patent for this place, then he shewed himself a true friend, and stuck close to him, and would never, even for the Prince's frowns, be accessary to a piece of such injustice and ingratitude, to one who was so deserving. And this put him upon composing that before-mentioned letter to the Queen, all writ with his own hand. In which he stretched all his eloquence and rhetoric to put the Queen off from this harsh resolution.

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Which I have therefore thought worthy to be preserved in the Appendix. Here he first presented to the Queen the pleas of Dr. Clerk, as, "That it would be his utter undoing, "to be thus deprived of his living: that he should be de-"faced and discountenanced, if he should be pronounced "by the Queen's own mouth insufficient: that he must "never shew his face in the Arches, where his only profession "lay: that he must banish himself from all other places "and companies of credit. He humbly prayed, that he "might at least have the benefit of the law, as all the rest "of her Majesty's subjects had. For that neither in equity, "in respect of the Archbishop's patent to him during plea-"sure, while Dr. Weston was alive, the former Dean of the "Arches; nor yet in justice, since his death, in respect of "the Archbishop's grant and promise during life, it might "be taken from him. As for the pretence of his insuffi-"ciency, by reason of his years, which his enemies objected "against him, he craved that some public trial thereof "might be made, as well for his learning as his years, as "also for his modest and honest life. He urged moreover, "that he had always sought her Majesty's honour and ser-"vice, and particularly in his last labour against Sanders. "And here the Archbishop took occasion to add his own "testimonial, *viz.* that he must needs witness, that he "shewed himself a most dutiful and careful subject towards "her Highness. Clerk concluded, that he hoped he should "never be accounted by her Majesty unworthy of that, "whereof the Archbishop, and also all the laws of the realm, "did allow him worthy and capable."

And thus the Archbishop, having laid Dr. Clerk's words and speeches before her Majesty, proceeded, in the next place, to use his own arguments to her: "making his suit to "her, that she would have respect to this man, having de-"served her favour. Or, secondly, if she would proceed so "severely against him, yet being legally vested in the said "office, and setting in place of judgment there, he prayed, "that his accusers might, by public trial, prove his insuffi-"ciency: though it had rarely or never been seen, that

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"one, thus placed by an Archbishop of Canterbury, had "been brought in question, and after long time displaced. "Thirdly, that if she had no respect to Clerk or his cause, "yet that she would have some consideration of him, the "Archbishop, and of that place unto which she had advanced "him. For it would be a great derogation unto the see "itself, and unto him, if he, who possessed jurisdiction "over so many Bishops, should be reproved in the choice "of one of his own officers. And in the end, this discredit
387 "would be a prejudice to her Majesty's service: his doings "being brought into contempt; and that by such as should "be to him, as the foot is to the head. Whereby her Ma-"jesty should give encouragement to them, and peradven-"ture in greater matters hereafter to oppose themselves "against him. But lastly, that if he could by no means "satisfy her Majesty, then he yielded up the cause to her, "to deal and do therein as her good pleasure should be, "trusting she would never lay on him so heavy a burden, "as to make him the instrument of Clerk's displacing "whom, for good respects, he had already placed; or that "he should remove him as unworthy, whom, in his con-"science, he thought very worthy; or to take that office "from him, which he by his word and promise gave him; "or to be the doer of his utter discredit, who, to his know-"ledge, had dutifully served her Majesty and the realm. "His suit therefore was, that her Majesty would not re-"quire it of him, but to assign so ingrateful a work to "somebody else: and so he concluded, praying God, that "the goodness of her own nature and conscience were not "drawn to other men's several affections." A letter this was, shewing the stout heart of our Prelate, and how immoveable he was to be brought, even by the Princess herself, to do any thing contrary to justice, honesty, or conscience.

The Queen again is bent to displace him.

This letter suspended the Queen's purposes for the present against the Dean of the Arches: but about six months after, *viz.* in December following, the Queen again took up her former displeasure against him; and was fully bent to

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have him displaced. He was now at Canterbury in visitation by commission from the Archbishop. Which, when the said Dean had word brought him of it, created a new sorrow unto him: and he immediately despatched a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, his ancient friend and patron, "requiring of his Lordship, for God's sake, for equity, and "for the commonwealth's sake, [to use his terms,] where-"unto this example, he said, might be dangerous, to pity "this his case, whereunto he was driven he knew not how, "unless by some hard and strange destiny. He urged his "painful service at that very present, being in visitation "for the Archbishop; his earnest travel against Sanders, "her own cause, which he had defended, and which by his "wrack might suffer discredit. But if none of these could "revoke her Highness from her resolution, he would offer "up his patent, and all that he had in this world, to her "pleasure, rather than her Majesty should think him insuf-"ficient for so mean a place. Yet this he must say withal, "that if her Highness should so at one instant take from "him both his credit and living, he should not only for "ever be made insufficient to live, but ashamed to look any "man in the face. The precedent whereof, wherein he was "the first and most unhappy example, what inconvenience "it might hereafter work, he left to his Lordship's honour-"able wisdom: wherein, as he said, the chiefest stay of all "our state depended. And in the mean time he must be "enforced, not only to interrupt that inquisition he was "upon, which in that county of Kent, full of dangerous "opinions, was greatly necessary, but also of force he must "forthwith banish himself, unless he stood, as he had done "always, his singular good Lord and Master. And for his "sufficiency, both in practice and knowledge, if his Honour "had any doubt, he referred himself to the report of Dr. "Aubrey and Dr. Ford, (two eminent Civilians at that "time,) or to any other of the Arches, to report what they "had tried in him almost now a whole year."

Dr. Clerk writes to the Lord Treasurer hereupon.

The Lord Treasurer, a general patron of all learned and sober men, did, according to his request, intercede on his

The Lord Treasurer intercedes for him.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572.

behalf to the Queen. And so he escaped the second time the Queen's anger, as I believe. For I find him in the Arches in the year 1586, writing thence to the Lord Treasurer: unless he were then only an advocate there. But the Queen then again had conceived some great displeasure against him, for somewhat that he had said in answer to an oration of Sir Thomas Heneage. And then he prayed the Lord Treasurer to remove her Majesty's heavy indignation and misconceit towards him, that at the least he might enjoy his private life without disgrace. Which makes me apt to conclude, that he was not now Dean of the Arches, but a private advocate only. And before this, in the year 1579,
388 I find he wrote a letter, dated from the Arches also, in commendation of Sir Thomas Chaloner's poem, *De Rep. Anglorum instauranda:* being a great judge in all polite and human learning.

In some request afterwards.

Yet he seemed afterwards to come again into reputation, (at least in Leicester's absence.) For when, in the year 1587, the estates of the Low Countries had accused Leicester to the Queen of evil government; and the Queen had sent the Lord Buckhurst, none of Leicester's friend, to them, to examine and compound the matter, I find our Dr. Clerk was the Civilian joined in commission with him. And the year after, 1588, in the month of December, (Leicester being now dead,) I meet with a letter from Hatton, Lord Chancellor, to him, superscribed, *To Mr. Dr. Clerk, Dean of the Arches.*

Camd. Elizabeth.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Message from the Council to the Archbishop, to know how he and the ecclesiastical Commissioners proceeded. His answer about the Puritans, and their books. Notes their favour at Court. The Bishop of Ely writes to the Archbishop concerning them. Chark's sermon at St. Mary's in Cambridge, against the hierarchy. A libel set up there against Dr. Whitgift. Browning of Trinity college, his trouble upon a sermon preached there. His case in the college. One Brown also preaches seditiously. Makes his retractation.

Anno 1572. The state of the Church.

BUT I must return again to the refusers of the ecclesiastical discipline, and take some further view of them, before I leave this present year. Notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the Queen and her Commissioners, by her repeated orders and commands; yet they daily got ground, and increased more and more, being favoured and countenanced by many in Court and City. They issued out their books in great plenty. The Bishops they laboured to make odious, and termed them *persecutors:* and they gave out, that what the Bishops did was not so much for the Church, as for securing their own credits. At the Council Board they had professed friends; such as the Earl of Leicester, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and divers others. Insomuch as the Church party had but two or three fast friends there, whereof the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer, was the chief.

The Archbishop to the Treasurer concerning the Puritans;

In the month of November the Dean of Westminster repaired to the Archbishop from the Lord Treasurer, with some messages: namely, that he should write to him or the Council, how he and the rest of the Commissioners proceeded in matters of commonwealth, and concerning Puritan books then published. For our Prelate had been more silent of late, than formerly he used to be; seeing things ran with so strong a torrent against their doings for

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the good and peaceable state of the Church. The Archbishop returned this answer, That he was so backward now to write of ecclesiastical matters, because he doubted they might be judged [as they were indeed charged] to care more for their own private defences and estimations, partly against the Puritans, and partly against the Papists, than upon good zeal of the quiet governance of the Queen's people. And to write to the Board of the Council in such particularities, (some being affected, as the report went,) he thought it no prudence. And as for the Puritans' books, (for that was one particular whereof the Lord Treasurer's message consisted, *viz.* what seditious books, either Popish or Puritan, were vended or dispersed,) the Archbishop sent him word, that he had signified formerly by letters, how they multiplied them by secret printing. Though their presses they had sought for diligently, but could not find them. Concerning them and their books, thus he complainingly wrote to the said Lord. "He understood, he said, "how throughout all the realm, among such as professed "themselves Protestants, the matter was taken. They, the "Puritans, rightly justified, and we [meaning themselves, "the Commissioners] judged to be extreme persecutors. "He said, he had seen this seven years how the matter "was handled on all parts. And that if the sincerity of the "Gospel should end in such judgments, he feared they of "the Council would have more ado than they should be "able to overcome. That the Puritans slandered them "with slanderous books and libels, lying they cared not "how deep. You feel, said he to the Lord Treasurer, the "Papists, and what good names they give you, and where-"about they go, [hinting a danger of the like nature from "the innovators.] He added, that the more they writ, the "more they shamed our religion, the more they were ap-"plauded, the more they were comforted. And that their "bearing and suffering, their winking and dissembling had "such effect, as now they might see everywhere to be "fallen out." [Such as, wholly absenting from the divine service in public, making schisms among professors of the

And their books.

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Vide Camden's Life of Q. Elizabeth, ad ann. 1573.

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same religion, and defaming the ecclesiastical policy, as corrupted with Romish dregs.] "And so he prayed God, "that all the doings of such, as were thought most politic, "proved good policies:" meaning those of the Court, that were for the tolerating of these principles.

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For this party grew now formidable to the State, as well as to the established government of the Church, as being in danger of overrunning the realm, and overthrowing the discipline of that Church, that was settled by the laws upon its first reformation: and wholly setting themselves against episcopacy; and against our Archbishop, and two other Bishops especially; who stirred, it seems, more than the rest against them. As will appear from a letter the grave Bishop of Ely writ to the Archbishop in the month of December; wherein are these words:

The party set themselves against episcopacy.

"I doubt not but ye are circumspect and vigilant, that "these godless schismaticks overrun not the realm, ne de-"face the religion of our godly and well reformed Church. "*Ne auferatur a nobis regnum Dei, et detur genti facienti* "*fructum ejus. Mundus in maligno positus est.* They "are bent against us *toto.* One openly at his table spake "especially against your Lordship, Winchester, and Ely, "[using these words,] It were well they were deprived, and "others in their rooms. [He that spake thus at his own "table was, I suppose, the Earl of Leicester.] Your re-"pair to her Majesty (as the letter goes on) is very need-"ful, for the stay of much ungodliness in this loose and "sinful world." This letter was judged of that weight by the Archbishop, that he sent it inclosed in one of his own to the Lord Treasurer, "making," as he said, "no gloss "on it, but referring it to his prudence."

Bishop of Ely's letter to the Archbishop. MSS. Burghlian.

And that you may also see how prevalent this party grew in the University of Cambridge, as well as in the rest of the nation, I think it not amiss here to recite what Dr. Byng, the Vice-Chancellor, in the beginning of December this year, wrote unto the Chancellor in reference to these matters. He recommended Dr. Bartholomew Clerk, (he of whom something hath been spoken before,) then newly come

How the University now stood affected. Dr. Byng's information thereof.

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from Cambridge, to his Lordship, to inform him how the inclination generally of men's minds stood throughout the town. And he made no doubt it was a trouble to him to see those that should preach God's truth, and maintain unity, seek occasion to quarrel against the present state. He signified, that they were much in oppugning Whitgift's book against Cartwright: but yet, the same was more with vehemency of words, than with force of reasons. That a few days past, *viz.* on the 5th of December, Mr. Chark, late Fellow of Peter house, and at present Chaplain to the Lord Cheynie, preaching, as he was appointed, a sermon *ad Clerum*, among other matters which he then uttered, maintained in his discourse these two conclusions, *viz.*

390 I. *Episcopatus, Archiepiscopatus, Metropolitanatus, Patriarchatus, et Papatus, a Satana in Ecclesiam introducti sunt.*

Positions in Chark's sermon *ad Clerum.*

II. *Inter ministros Ecclesiæ, non debet alius alio esse superior.*

For the which his doctrine, as repugnant to the government in this Church of England established, the Vice-Chancellor caused him, as their statutes required, to be called before him and the rest of the Heads. Where he, being charged with the points aforesaid, did earnestly stand to the defence of the same. It was shewed him what dangers would ensue, if he so persisted; and therefore he was advised to confer with better learned than himself, and to hear their judgments. The which that he might do to his greater profit, they granted him a reasonable space to consider more diligently of his assertions, and after, to yield up a full resolution of his mind therein. The time prefixed him was Ash-Wednesday following. In the mean while he had leave to depart. And so far they had dealt with Chark; meaning, unless their Chancellor's determination was otherwise, as the Vice-Chancellor wrote him, to proceed with him according to their statutes. Which bound him either to revoke his opinions, or to be expelled the University.

A libel set upon the school doors.

Not long before that sermon of Chark's, there was a slanderous libel set upon the outer door of the schools, against Dr. Whitgift and Dr. Pern. Some were not with-

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out cause suspected for it; but the author was not certainly known.

CHAP. XVIII.

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Certain errors of Browning vented in St. Mary's.

Thus I have delivered the reader a little view of this *busy commonwealth*, as the Vice-Chancellor styled that University in his letter to their Chancellor. But this was not all that was doing here about this time. For about Christmas, one Browning, a Fellow of Trinity college, uttered in St. Mary's certain doctrines, tending to the favouring of Novatus's heresy. For which he was convented, and charged to abstain from preaching, till his further purgation. Nevertheless, soon after he adventured to preach again: whereupon it was thought good, that, for the contempt, he should be committed. And because among the articles objected against him, one chiefly sounded to the touching of great matters, [matters of State, I suppose,] he was bound in recognizance with two sureties, to be answerable for the same, when he should be called. This man was afterward Chaplain to the Earl of Bedford; and being a senior Fellow, commenced Doctor at Oxford two years before his time. For which he was deprived of his fellowship by Dr. Still, the Master, in the year 1584.

Deprived of his fellowship: and why. Dr. Still's account thereof.

But that I may relate this matter somewhat more particularly, being an *extraordinary case*, as Dr. Still styled it in a letter which he wrote to the Lord Burghley, their Chancellor, about it. For before he proceeded to any censure, he first prudently acquainted him therewith. Telling him, that they, the members of the college, thought it directly against their statutes, and the suffering thereof would much hurt the good government of their college; and would in time greatly disgrace the University; others upon any disgust making this a precedent for them to do the like. Then he mentioned the words of the statute, for the proceeding of a Fellow of their college to the degree of Bachelor or Doctor in Divinity. Which contained some exercise and allowance to be made necessarily in the college, before their admission thereunto, under pain of loss of their places. The words were these: *Statuimus, ut sin-*

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guli, qui sunt Bacchalaureatum in Theologia suscepturi, tria capita Novi vel Veteris Testamenti, à Magistro, vel octo senioribus, vel, &c. *designata, Latinè in Sacello interpretantur.* And then, if in their judgment he shall be judged fit for that degree, he is to be admitted publicly to oppose, &c. And the punishment for not observing this order is expressed to be *sub pœna amissionis sodalitii.* But Browning had neither read these three chapters, nor had any assignment or grace granted by them. Nor had he any way made the college privy to his intended doings. Which, beside the breach of their statutes, and the evil example given thereby, was greatly disliked of the whole University; that Fellows of colleges here in this University should take their degrees there at Oxford, at their pleasures, before their
391 time. He wrote the Chancellor likewise, that he, the Master, and the seniors, had conferred concerning the meaning of that statute; and it was the judgment of the more part of them, that his place was void by this fact. And that the seniors and others had earnestly called upon him, the Master, to execute the statute for the loss of his place. But he had chosen to forbear the final judgment till a month or two longer, because he would shew him what favour he might, and see whether in the mean time he would of himself give place, rather than have the sentence pronounced against him. But notwithstanding, Browning would not give place, urging to the Master, that he was not within the breach of that statute, and that they should do him wrong if they should apply that statute to him. The Chancellor upon this consulted Dr. Lewis, a learned Civilian of the Arches, concerning this case. Who, in a letter to him, gave his judgment, that the said Fellow had given just cause to be deprived of his fellowship. Dr. Browning also wrote his letter to the Chancellor on his own behalf, urging that he had not broken the statute, because he had offered to read the three chapters, and be approved by the seniors before he was admitted into the college. And that he behaved himself in the University, as though he had not that degree,

Browning's pleas.

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making use of no privileges or commodities thereby; and seemed willing to take his degree again in Cambridge. He explained also the causes wherefore he had done it: namely, because when he should have proceeded Bachelor in Divinity; he was in my Lord of Bedford's house two years; and before he could have been Doctor in Cambridge, he must have tarried two years more. So that to redeem those two years, he went to Oxford; besides, their proceeding to the degree of Doctor, who were his punies, and the motion of his friends, and the commodity and countenance that would accrue to him hereby, did draw him forward.

This contest held four years.

In fine, this contest lasted four years, that is, to September 1584, when Dr. Still displaced him. But Dr. Browning, however, would not depart, keeping his chamber door shut till some were sent to pull him out; a decree being passed from the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads, to have the Proctors enter with force: and Dr. Still made a decree, the next day by eight o'clock his doors should be broke open. And this was accordingly executed, and they carried him out by strong hand. The Master had some days before caused his name to be cut off the butteries, and commenced an action of three hundred pounds against him. That which gave the more occasion to all this hurlyburly was, that Dr. Browning had carried himself too malapertly towards Dr. Still, the Master. For being Vice-Master, he had upon some pretence, as for his marriage contrary to his oath, and sundry other pretended breaches of statutes, suspended the authority of the Master: no question, to prevent him from exercising any censure upon him, the Vice-Master. Nor did Browning yet desist; but applied himself to the Archbishop that then was; who, upon the relation he made of his own case, was very favourable to him. And in the month of October he presented a petition to the Queen, wherein he requested that she would remit the hearing of his cause to the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer. And to make his business succeed the better, he got his patron, the Earl of Bedford, to write his letter on his behalf to the

Browning petitions the Queen against Dr. Still.

Earl of Bedford favours him.

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said Lord Treasurer: wherein he called Browning's removal, Dr. Still's *hard dealing* with him; and urged that his fellowship was the only preferment he had to depend upon; and desired his Lordship to suspend his opinion till he should indifferently hear both parties; and lastly, in commendation of the man, he said, that he had good experience of his sound preaching of the truth, and of his godly conversation in his family.

I have been too long in this matter; but by this appears of what a turbulent hot spirit this non-complier was.

One Brown also in his sermons opposed the manner of ordaining Ministers.

One Brown also of the same Trinity college, Fellow, immediately before Christmas, and also since, in some sermons, by way of refutation of Musculus, seemed to oppugn the order of our Church, concerning the election of Ministers, and the government used in the Church of England; and that the Orders received in King Henry and Queen Mary's time were invalid. He was called also before the Heads divers times, and examined, and confined sometime to his chamber, sufficient proof having been brought against him.

392 Howbeit, they had not yet proceeded to his punishment, but rested upon hope of his further conformation, if by reasonable means he would be ruled. I write the very words of the Vice-Chancellor to the Chancellor, in a letter which was carried by Dr. Whitgift; with whom he desired his Lordship to confer, for the repressing of these and such like enormities there; and he would be most ready to see to the due execution of the same.

But Brown aforesaid denied that he uttered such things as were laid to his charge: and therefore refused to make any recantation of them, as was required: and withal complained thereof to the Chancellor, in a letter addressed to him in the month of July, 1573, which I have placed in No. LXXX. the Appendix. But, however, he was fain to submit; and in November made his retractation. The articles charged upon him, and the retractation, as I found them exemplified under Stokys, the University Register's hand, are as follows:

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Certain articles objected to Mr. Nicolas Browne, of Trinity college, upon two sermons made by him. The one the Sunday before Christmas, the other the 25th of January, 1572.

Anno 1572.

Articles objected to him.

I. *Item*, That in both the said sermons he uttered doctrine and reasons tending to the infringing of the order and manner of creating or electing Ministers; or the regiment now used in the Church of England; or tending to the confuting of Musculus's reasons; whereby the said Musculus would establish the said order or regiment now used.

II. *Item*, That he said, no Priests made in the Popish time ought to have any function in the Church of England, except they were called again; or words tending to that end.

Tenor Retractationis.

His retractation.

"Whereas I, preaching in this place the Sunday before "Christmas, and also the 25th of January last past, was "noted to have preached offensively; speaking as well "against the manner and form of making and ordering of "Ministers and Deacons in the Church of England, now "established and allowed, as also against such Priests as "were made in King Henry's and Queen Mary's time, "saying, that they were not to be admitted into the min-"istry without a new calling: I let you all to understand "that I never meant so. For I do here acknowledge and "openly protest, that the manner and form of ordering of "Ministers and Deacons in the Church of England, now "established, is lawful, and to be allowed. *Item*, That the "Priests made in King Henry's and Queen Mary's times, "now allowed, and having or exercising any function in the "Church, are lawful Ministers of the word and sacraments, "without any new ordering, otherways than is prescribed "by the laws of this realm." By the way, this was not that Brown that gave name to that sect, known by the name of *Brownists*, though he also were of Trinity college, as this was. For they differed in their Christian names, he being Robert, this Nicolas.

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CHAP. XIX.

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Upon a report of a disputation, the Queen sends to the Archbishop. His answer. A Parliament. The Archbishop is discouraged. His concern about a bill for rites and ceremonies. The ill state of the Church. The Parliament runs high against the Queen of Scots. A Convocation. The Archbishop's excellent speech at the opening of it. Dr. Whitgift Prolocutor. The Archbishop grants a protection.

Anno 1572. Divers labour to bring the Archbishop into disgrace with the Queen.

HAVING given this view of the growing of these principles in the University, I come back again to our Archbishop: whom, about the latter end of this year, great labour was used to discredit with the Queen. And it was given out, that he was quite out with her. They reported, that he was entering upon I know not what new attempts for the strengthening of his government: which seems to be this, as if upon some provocation and challenge of the adverse party, the Archbishop had some thoughts of appointing a public disputation with them. This coming to the Queen's ears, she acquainted the Lord Treasurer with it, ordering him to let the Archbishop know, that he should not go about such matters, without first making her privy thereunto. But this was a mere device and tale of some of his enemies, purposely spread, that it might reach to the Queen. So that our Archbishop was fain to beseech the said Lord to certify her Majesty, "that he did not pur-
"pose any such new attempts in state of his poor govern-
"ance, but that he would first take her Majesty's advice of
"herself, or from his Lordship. Nor that there was any
"such disputation meant; and that he was of opinion,
"*Sermo datur cunctis*," &c. adding, "that *words* might
"not now be used, but *doings:* and that it was by sufferance
"past his reach, and the reach of his brethren [the Bishops.]
"He said, the comfort that these Puritans had, and their
"countenance, was marvellous. And therefore, that if

His message to her.

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"her Highness with her Council stepped not to it, he "saw the likelihood of a pitiful commonwealth to follow. "Where Almighty God, said he, is so much English, "[meaning so much a friend to England,] should we not "requite his mercy with some earnestness to prefer his ho-"nour, and true religion?" These things he wrote to the Lord Treasurer March the 12th.

The Archbishop and Bishops bearded.

A Parliament was now to sit, and the Puritans had confident hopes and expectations of favour there, when they should come together. And they had prepared bills and petitions for the regulating of the pretended abuses of the Church. The Bishops themselves seemed to be jealous of it; and were reported by that party to have sued to the Queen, that the nether House should not deal in such matters of religion. But it was but a false surmise. But so rude they were upon the Bishops now, that the Archbishop writ after this sort to his great friend at the Court; "If your "Lordship knew how we be bearded and used, ye would "think strange, that we should be thus dealt with in so fa-"vourable a governance. And, but that we have our "whole trust in God, in her Majesty, and in two or three "of her Council, I see it will be no dwelling for us in "England." But the Queen, whether by our Archbishop or by the Lord Treasurer, (I suppose by both,) became now awakened, "that she might prevent a schism," saith Camden; "and misliking these men, as men of unquiet spirits, "and greedy of novelty, and too forward to root up things "that were well established, commanded the rigor of the "laws concerning uniformity to be every where put in ex-"ecution." So that historian tells us. But whether this check were effectual, I know not. We shall see hereafter how that faction prevailed.

Camd. Eliz.

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Reviled by a Puritan member of Parliament. D'Ewes' Jour. p. 206, 207.

But let us see what it was that gave occasion to our Archbishop to write and speak as he did. In this Parliament, which began to sit May the 8th, the Puritan party (which was now very strong in the House) soon brought in a bill, or rather two bills, one concerning *rites and ceremonies*, driving therein at the whole overthrow of those that

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were already established in the Church. In one of these bills several of the Thirty-nine Articles were rejected, and complaint seems to [have been] made of the indicting and hard usage of many godly preachers, when, on the other hand, Papists had encouragement. By the 20th of May it was read the third time. And then referred to be considered by Mr. Treasurer, (who, if he were Sir Francis Knolles, was a zealous opposer of Bishops,) Sir Thomas Scot, Mr. Attorney of the Duchy, and, among others, Peter Wentworth, Esq. (who was also of another committee this Parliament, for another rigorous work, *viz.* impeaching Mary Queen of Scots.) These referees sat in the afternoon in the Star-chamber, a place commonly used in those days for such purposes. Then it was thought advisable that some of them should repair with their bills to the Archbishop, and perhaps others of the Bishops too. The said Mr. Wentworth (a man of a hot temper, and impatient for the *new discipline*) was one of them, and undertook to talk with the Archbishop in behalf of their book that they had drawn. The Archbishop signified his dislike of it; since the ordinary course of redressing matters amiss in the Church did properly belong to the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation; and that the Parliament had empowered the Queen, with her ecclesiastical Commissioners, or the Metropolitan, to regulate the rites and ceremonies, or appoint others, by the act of *Supremacy* and *Uniformity*. Which made the Archbishop ask them, Why they did put out of the book, (that is, out of their book,) then offered him, the articles of the Homilies, and that for the Consecration of Bishops, and some others? And when Wentworth had answered, Because they were so occupied in other matters that they had no time to examine them, how they agreed with the word of God; the Archbishop replied, "Surely, you mistook the matter. You "will refer yourselves wholly to us therein."

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D'Ewes' Jour. p. 239.

To which the hot gentleman presently made answer, (as he related it himself in another sessions of Parliament,) "No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing be-"fore we understand what it is. For that were to make

18. Eliz. anno 1575.

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"you Popes. Make you Popes who list, for we will make "you none." This was pretty liberal language with the good Archbishop, and the rest of his order. This man, no question, learnt his lesson from Thomas Cartwright and his brethren, who, in despite of the hierarchy, now begun commonly to style them Popes, and the Archbishops of Canterbury, Popes of Lambeth.

The Queen dislikes a book of articles, and a bill of rites and ceremonies, brought into the Parliament.

But what became of their book of articles, that they had been so industriously hammering, and their bill of rites and ceremonies? The Queen was highly displeased with these attempts of laymen in matters of religion, and particularly with Wentworth. For but two days after, (*viz.* the 22d of May,) the Speaker declared from the Queen to the House, "that her pleasure was, that from henceforth no bills "concerning religion should be preferred or read in the "House, unless the same were considered and liked by the "Clergy, [meaning her Bishops alone in commission, or "whole Convocation.] And further, that her pleasure was "to see the two last bills read in the House touching rites "and ceremonies." Whereupon it was ordered by the House, that the same bills should be delivered unto her by the Privy Council that were in the House, or by any four of them. And they were delivered accordingly with all respect and submission to her, as appears.

For upon this, the very next day, being May the 23d, Mr. Treasurer reported to the House the delivery of the two bills to her Majesty, together with the humble request of the House; which was, to beseech her Highness not to conceive evil opinion of their House, in case she liked not of the said bills, or of the parties that preferred them. And he declared further, that she seemed utterly to dislike of the first bill, and of him that brought the same into the House. And further, that her express will and pleasure was, that no preacher or minister should be impeached or indicted, or otherwise molested or troubled, as the preamble of the said bill did import: and added these words, (to sweeten all the rest,) that she would, as Defender of the 395 Faith, aid and maintain all good Protestants, to the dis-

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couraging of all Papists. Which the Queen said for this end undoubtedly, not only to keep the supreme authority in spirituals in her own hand, but to meet with the pretended grievances prefaced in their bill concerning preachers unjustly molested, and of too much favour shewn to Papists. But that we may see how this matter ended;

In the next session of Parliament, which by divers prorogations, till three years after, (as it seems, on purpose, by length of time to cool these heats,) this restless party could not forbear; but as soon as they came together, the same Mr. Wentworth, in a long speech, (set down in D'Ewes' Journal,) repeated these transactions in this session. And that with so much bitter and unjust reflections upon our Archbishop, and the rest of the Bishops, and bold indecent accusations of the Queen herself, for her message to the House before mentioned, (*viz.* that they should not deal in matters of religion, but first receive them from her Bishops,) that the House stopped him before he had done, and then sequestered him, and committed him to the Sergeant's ward: and afterwards, being examined concerning his said speech by a committee of the House in the Star-chamber, was adjudged to close imprisonment in the Tower.

D'Ewes' Journal, p. 236.

The ill state of religion and the Church at this time.

The state of the Church and religion at this time was but low, and sadly neglected, occasioned in a great measure by these unhappy controversies about the Church's government, and other external matters in religion: which so employed the thoughts and zeal of both Clergy and Laity, that the better and more substantial parts of it were very little regarded. The Churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures; many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases and wastes of their woods, granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays; and were kept nasty, and filthy, and undecent for God's worship. Among the laity there was little devotion. The Lord's day greatly profaned, and little observed. The

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common prayers not frequented. Some lived without any service of God at all. Many were mere heathens and atheists. The Queen's own Court an harbour for *epicures* and *atheists*, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish. Which things made good men fear some sad judgments impending over the nation. This exercised the thoughts of the good Lord Burghley, (the Archbishop's friend and confident,) and put him upon considering seriously with himself about some effectual remedies for these public evils, now against the sitting of the Parliament. In order to which, at Reding, in the month of September, being then with the Queen in her progress, while others were upon their pleasures, he drew out a draught for reformation; bearing this title, as I have transcribed it from his own MS. *verbatim*.

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Things needful to be considered, how to be ordered.

The Lord Treasurer's draught for reformation of the Church.

"The government of the Church of England to be directed not only in more uniformity, according to the laws and ordres stablished, but also in more reverence and devotion. For which purpose these and like abuses wold be reformed in this sort followyng:

"I. The churches wold be replenished with the proper Parsons and Vicars; and all pluralitees resumed by general ordre. And Commissioners to be appoynted to examyne the necessite of any dispensation. Wherein, for ordre sake, the Archbishops wold be in commission in their several provynces.

"II. The churches also wold be both repared in ther decays, and ordred to be kept more clenly and reverently for dyvyne prayer.

"III. The statut for resort to common prayers wold be by some better ordre executed, and the imperfections therein amended. So as none shuld lyve as they doo, without any manner of servyce of God. Which hath bred so many heathen atheists to the dishonor of God, and to the daunger of the realm. In this point ther is better regard to be gyven to the Quen's Majesty's own

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"howshold; which is now a coverture for no small nombre "of *epicures* and *atheists*. Because the Court is not com-"prehended within a parish, but seemeth to be a lawless "place.

"IV. The days of Sondays wold be both by ordre and "example more strayghtly kept.

"V. The whole Clergy wold be restrayned from alien-"ation of their lands, and from unresonable lessees, wastes "of woods, and grants of reversions, and advowsons, to "any persons; and namely, to their wives and children, or "to others for their use. An inquisition wold be made in "the register books, what nombre of graunts have bene "made within these five or six years, to the disherison of "the Church; and a resumption wold be made therof by "Parlement."

His memorial.

Likewise in the next month, being still at Reding, this wise and pensive Statesman drew out a *memorial* of certain things necessary to be better ordered. Whereof the first and second paragraph concerned the state of the Church and religion. Which ran to this tenor:

A good visitation for this. Burghley's hand.

"The Bishops and Clergy to be reformed, for their "wastes of their patrimonies, the negligence of teachyng, "and the abuse of pluralitees, and non-residence by unne-"cessary dispensations. The decays of churches, chancels, "and chapels, ordeined for dyvyn service, to be repayred. "The lack of Parsons, Vicars, Curats, in sondry places.

"The obstinate contemners of religion to be punished "according to the laws of the realm."

The Parliament highly disgusted with the Queen of Scots.

What the Parliament did this year in point of religion, I have already briefly related: I shall now only touch the great disgust they had against Mary Queen of Scots, now detained in England; the Papists, by their late persecutions in France, and plots in England, having made both themselves odious and formidable to this nation, and her the head of that faction here. So that they talked in the House of little less than her death. But Queen Elizabeth would not hear of any such dealing to be used towards her. To this purpose wrote Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to Bul-

Bishop of Norwich to Bullinger.

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linger at Zurich; "How the Queen of Scots was in much "fear. And well she might," said he; "for had not the "great clemency of the Queen interposed, *actum de ea* "*fuisset.*" He added, "What will become of her the next "Parliament, it is uncertain. Sure it is, she had very few "friends among them. And what wonder, since she gaped "for our kingdom; *et cum tot tantisque flagitiis sit con-* "*spurcata et pæne cooperta*, i. e. and since she hath been so "stained, and in a manner overwhelmed, with so many and "so great abominations."

What was done in the Convocation.

But in the Convocation that began now, May the 9th, the settlement of religion and regulation of matters amiss in the Church seemed very earnestly to be intended and set about, according to the abovementioned memorial of *things needful to be considered*, and reformed. The Archbishop came that day in person from Lambeth, landing at Paul's Wharf, and so to St. Paul's; and there made an excellent speech in Latin to that purpose: to which I refer the reader in the Appendix. The substance and contents of what he said were in English as follows; and the Archbishop in great gravity thus began:

Number LXXXI.

The Archbishop's speech to the Synod.

"That there was none doubted, but that this Synod by "him called together, by virtue of the Queen's command, "and in which they now were met, was meant for some "wholesome end and purpose to the Church of Christ. "That they had happily begun this assembly, first with "prayer to the Divine Majesty, and then with a fruitful "and learned exhortation delivered to them by a reverend "man. And that it, being entered upon and sanctified "after that manner with prayer and the word of God, was "likely to produce a joyful conclusion to their labours and "endeavours. That however others variously expressed "their zeal and desire in propagating and preserving "Christian religion, they of that Synod, remembering their "order and dignity, ought to excel, not only in zeal and 397
"watchfulness, but, if need were, even with the loss of "their good names, their estates, and their very lives. "That for this they were appointed by God, and warned

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"by the Holy Spirit, to search into God's truth, and to "reveal it to the people. And therein to imitate their ancestors: not only those who in the late times went before "them, and with utmost study sought for this truth, and "at last confirmed it with holy martyrdom; but those "also who lived in the first and apostolical times, and left "very ancient and written monuments of things done "in this island. Which although partly stifled by Anti-"christ, and partly obscured by long desuetude; yet a "great many of them," he said, "had been preserved even "to the present age, and these our clearer times; and "which did sufficiently shew, that our rites and ordinances "little differed from their appointments and decrees. And "that those ancient writings ought to be so much the "dearer unto us, as they were our own, and written by our "own countrymen here at home.

"But in case the Divine providence had not reserved "them to us, but had permitted them to have utterly pe-"rished, and been withdrawn from human memory; yet," said he, "the very fountains of all Divine knowledge still "remained, kept, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, in the "Hebrew and Greek originals. To which fountains, though "the rivulets thence by so long depravations were cor-"rupted and soiled, we should have recourse, to attain the "sure knowledge of the Divine will. And so," he said, "the holy martyr Cyprian writ, 'That if we go back to "the head and original of Divine tradition, human error "will cease; and while we have respect to the heavenly "mysteries, whatsoever lay obscure in clouds and darkness "would appear by the light of the truth. And that God's "Priests ought to adhere to his precepts; that if in any "thing they chanced to waver, or to stray from truth, they "might return to the original; that is, what our Lord, "the Gospel, and the Apostles, have delivered.' He added "to this of St. Cyprian another testimony of St. Basil the "Great, to this tenor, 'That we should not think it just, "that a custom that obtained among any should go for a "law and rule of right doctrine; but that the Scripture

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"divinely inspired should be made by us the great judge "and umpire. And that they had the suffrage of truth, "with whomsoever were found doctrines agreeable with the "word of God.' And from the authority of these holy Fa- "thers," as our Archbishop went on, "we were admonished, "that as often as we wandered by human negligence and "blindness from the holy and pure ways of God, we should "again return into them. That the holy Scriptures which "bear witness of him should by us be searched: and that "ancient testimonies were to be looked into; from whence, "St. Cyprian so avowing, 'the rise and original of our re- "ligion comes.' That if we firmly stuck to the testimony "of holy and divine antiquity, we might be sure what the "true worship of God was, and secure wherein true reli- "gion consisted, whatever depravations have happened to "the monuments of human matters and ordinances, con- "sumed by the teeth of time. For these sacred fountains, "ever flowing, never to be violated, were continually day "and night to be repaired unto; and that with the waters "flowing hence, our pits or wells were to be thoroughly "purged; which our enemies the Philistines, by throwing "dirt into them, had defiled: that they might again be "filled with these wholesome fountains, whence we draw "life eternal.

"That this argument furnished him with plenty of mat- "ter, if he had been minded to insist thereupon; that is, to "set before their eyes, by what witchcrafts Antichrist had "deluded them, and had led them captives, in gross and "palpable darkness, into his own prisons. That it ought "therefore to be matter of infinite joy to them, and thank- "fulness to God, that those more than Cymmerian dark- "nesses were dispelled; and that the unspeakable bright- "ness of his truth at length shone upon them. He ex- "horted them with all their strength to set about it, to re- "sist stoutly the darksome powers of the world and the "Devil; and to defend and maintain the truth of God's "word, so often opposed by their wicked and ungodly ad- "versaries. For from thence it was that their hope and

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"triumph (who embraced the truth) would follow; and "their confusion be effected, who neither would nor could "open their eyes to contemplate the brightness of the "light of the Gospel, their hearts being shut up in an af-"fected and slothful ignorance and blindness. But he left "this matter of great moment to those who had more con-"venient place and larger leisure than he had in that short "time.

"He came therefore to the matter that related to the "present purpose, and which their awful assembly and ap-"pearance required. They knew," he said, "that this Syn-"od was divided into two companies, and they into two "Houses; the Upper and Lower. That they might there-"fore be unanimous in their counsels and deliberations in "ecclesiastical causes, and avoid strifes and debates in all "their disceptations, some were appointed for this very "purpose. And I," said he, "for my part, will preside in "this Upper House: that all that we say, answer, and dis-"course together, may not be thwarted by confusion, but "done rightly and in order. In the same manner, they of "the lower council," he said, "ought carefully to beware, "that they admitted not of contentions and complaints, "while they were arguing together of things of such weight "and moment; but that all things might be managed be-"tween them moderately and prudently.

"That therefore, for the preventing of this, and that "their good might not be evil spoken of, he advised them "to choose some person of singular gravity, piety, pru-"dence, and learning, to be their Prolocutor for the whole "time of the Synod; who might temper the debates, that "they might not be spun out longer, or be handled more "sharply and vehemently, than was convenient: and who "also might declare their desires to them, the Bishops, and "likewise bring the monitions of the Upper House to them "of the Lower. That they had a great number in their "House to make their choice out of; exhorting and admo-"nishing them in the Lord, that with all speed convenient "they would go together, and choose some fit person: and

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"on Wednesday following present him to them. At which "time he should proceed further in this Convocation busi-"ness, according as time, and place, and ancient custom, re-"quired." And so he made an end.

Dr. Young, one of the Residentiaries of St. Paul's, preached the sermon before the Clergy now met; taking for his text that in the Revelations, *Nam opera tua et laborem et patientiam novi*, &c.

Dr. Young preaches.

Dr. Whitgift, Dean of Lincoln, and well known for his writings, was now accordingly chosen Prolocutor, and presented by Dr. Perne, Dean of Ely, and Dr. Humfrey, Dean of Gloucester; this latter making a speech. Being accepted and confirmed, the Bishop of London, substitute for the Archbishop, (who then was ill at ease,) called for the said Prolocutor and his two presenters, and bade them choose to themselves in their House some learned, grave men, and such as were of best ability and fitness; and they to consider and bethink themselves concerning what was requisite to be reformed in the Church; and then to cause it to be reduced into writing; and the next session to present it to the most reverend Father, or his substitute: which looked like a fair step towards the doing of much good. But by reason of frequent prorogations and continuations from place to place, and from time to time, stop was made of these good intentions; till the Queen's writ, dated July the 1st, came forth, commanding a prorogation. And so this Convocation was prorogued by Dr. Yale, unto November 2. following. And so from time to time till the year 1575. These matters required to be drawn up in order to a reformation, (though they are not specified in the extract of the journal of this Synod, which I have seen,) I make little doubt were those mentioned before in the Lord Treasurer's draught for reformation, as to the substance of them.

Dr. Whitgift, Prolocutor.

Matters requiring reformation to be drawn up at this Synod.

It may be noted here, that during this session of Convocation the Archbishop granted a protection to an attendant of one of the members, *viz.* the Dean of Gloucester, named James Massam, having taken an oath before the Archbishop, that he did then wait upon him. The said protection

A protection granted by the Archbishop.

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was directed to the Mayor and Bailiffs of the city of Winchester, "strictly commanding them, and every of them, "that during the said Convocation they permit him to have "free liberty of going, waiting, and returning, without ar-"rest or molestation; according to the form of a statute, 399 "8. Hen. VI. cap. 1. wherein it was decreed and established, "that the servants and family of such as were called to a "Convocation by virtue of the King's writ, should enjoy "the same liberty in coming, waiting, and sitting, as the "noblemen and commons of the kingdom did, or were ac-"customed to do." The form of this protection (for information) I have placed in the Appendix.

Number LXXXII.

CHAP. XX.

An account of the Archbishop's new edition of the Great Bible. The Archbishop's Prefaces. The Tables. The Translators, viz. the Bishops.

A new edition of the Bible procured by the Archbishop.

AND here under this year, seventy-two, it must not be omitted to mention how much the English Church was beholden unto Archbishop Parker for the second publication of a fair well translated large church Bible; as it was to his predecessor, Archbishop Cranmer, for the first. Great and long were the pains and study that our Archbishop took therein. I will give some account of it; *viz.* of that printed in the year 1572, which hath the coat of arms and the two capital letters of his name (*viz.* M. C.) in several places of the book; and which was the second time that this Bible by his means, in this Queen's reign, was printed with corrections and amendments, and other improvements, more than the former editions; and this last more than that in the year 1568, and (if I mistake not) of a larger volume, for the use of the churches. This hath no other title in the first page but THE HOLY BIBLE, with a fair effigies cut in copper of Queen Elizabeth, on each side of whom are the figures of Hope and Charity; and underneath her

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those words of St. Paul, *Non me pudet Evangelii Christi. Virtus enim*, &c. Which divine sentence is supported with the lion rampant and dragon. In the following pages there be, first, several *Prolegomena*, as a necessary previous introduction into the more fruitful reading and distinct knowledge of the holy book itself. The first bears this title, *The Sum of the whole Scripture of the Books of the Old and New Testament*. The next matter is a very excellent and most useful genealogical table, very large, having before it the Archbishop's coat of arms, empaled with that of his archbishopric; to signify the said table, as I conjecture, to be of his doing. And it bears this title: *This Table sets out to the eye the Genealogy of Adam; so passing by the Patriarchs, Judges, Kings, Prophets, and Priests, and the Fathers of their time, continuing in lineal descent to Christ our Saviour*. And it may serve as a brief chronological and scriptural history, from the beginning of the world to our Saviour's birth, and from his birth to his resurrection. The third *Prolegomenon* bears this title, and begins thus: *The whole Scripture of the Bible is divided into two Testaments, the Old Testament and the New. Which Book is of divers natures, some legal, some historical, some sapiential, some prophetical. The Old teacheth by figures and ceremonies. The Law was given terribly in lightning and thundering, to induce the people to observance thereof by fear. The New Testament came in more gloriously, with the gentle name of the Gospel and good Tidings, to induce men to observe it by love*. And then he enlargeth upon the particular books of Scripture, according to the forementioned fourfold distribution of them. Then follows an excellent Preface of this Archbishop's writing, before the Bible, which I have taken care to transcribe, and place in the Appendix, as I did that of Cranmer in his Memorials. After that succeeds the said Cranmer's Preface, called his Prologue, before the Bible. Then you have *A Description of the Year from the Creation of the World until this present Year* 1572, *drawn for the most part out of the holy Scripture, with Declaration of certain Places*,

CHAP. XX.

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His Prolegomena before the Old Testament;

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wherein is certain Difference of the reckoning of the Years. On the side whereof are divers of his marginal notes. Then succeeds the order of the books of the Old Testament and the New. Then direction for the Lessons, and the Almanack. Then a fair map of Canaan, or the Holy Land, with the Lord Burghley's coat of arms engraven in it, as likewise it is in other places of the book, as being a great encourager of the work. The Bible hath all along many learned marginal references and notes, for explanation of the difficulty of the texts, or observations of matters remarkable. Which I make no doubt were done by the Bishops, but chiefly by the Archbishops.

Finally, there is a Preface of St. Basil the Great, englished, before the Book of Psalms, and a suitable sentence of St. Austin. Here stands the picture of the Lord Treasurer Burghly, with the Book of Psalms in his hand, as being his great delight.

And before the New.

Before the New Testament is a description of the Holy Land, containing the places mentioned in the four Evangelists, with other places about the seacoast. Wherein may be seen the ways and journies of Christ and his Apostles in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. Together with the names of the places specified in this map, with their situation, by the observation of degrees, concerning their longitude and latitude. There is also the Archbishop's Preface to this New Testament, as there was one to the Old. Which is also to be seen in the Appendix.

Number LXXXIV.

The contents of his Preface to the Old Testament.

In that to the Old there be so many remarkable passages, that it may not be amiss to draw into the body of these memorials the contents thereof. And first, from the precept of Christ to *search the Scriptures*, he laboured to prove, "That God's intent was, that the Scripture should be read, "not only of some particular persons, as of more rank, "eminency, and understanding than the rest, [as was al-"lowed under King Henry VIII.] but of all without ex-"ception. Inasmuch as it belongs unto us all to be called "unto eternal life, and it was God's will that all should "be saved. Then he goes forward to charge it as a great

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" fault to discourage or forbid the reading and studying of " the Scripture, by secret slanderous reproaches of it, or by " open laws contracting the liberty of the people from hav- " ing it. And that it must be Antichrist that giveth pre- " cept or counsel contrary to that which Christ gave, under " what colour or pretence soever it is given. For little did " they resemble Christ's spirit, that wished ignorance to " reign in us, that they might by our ignorance reign the " more frankly in our consciences. They who take the " light from us intend that we should stumble in the path " of perdition. They who envy us the bread of life mean " to famish us, or, instead thereof, with the traditions and " doctrines of men to infect us. Then he proceeded to ex- " hort the reader to the perusing of the holy Scriptures, " and to employ himself therein all his life. Advising him, " that he should not suffer himself to be drawn from them " by the insinuations of the adversaries, either upon ac- " count of their pretended obscurity, or their unsearchable " hidden mysteries, or the strangeness or homeliness of the " phrases: saying, that Christ exhorted us the rather to " search them, because of the difficulty of them; and St. " Paul, to have our senses exercised in them. That we " should impute it to our dulness, and want of diligent " searching into them, rather than to think the Scriptures " be insuperable. Only, that we search with an humble " spirit, ask in continual prayer, seek with purity of life, " knock with perpetual perseverance, and cry to the good " Spirit of God. That the holy table of the Scripture be- " comes to some the table of a snare, and a trap, and a " stumblingblock, how busy soever they search it; but it " is to such, whose conscience is subject to filthiness of life. " For all perverse cogitations separate from God. That " therefore we ought to search to find out the truth, not to " oppress it. To seek Christ, not as Herod did, under pre- " tence of worshipping him, to destroy him; or, as Phari- " sees searched the Scriptures, to disprove Christ and dis- " credit him, not to follow him. That it was not enough " to acknowledge the Scriptures as the Jews did, who

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"could number every verse, word, and syllable, nay, letter "of the Bible; and who would not suffer any other book to "lay upon it, nor let it fall to the ground, be at great cost "in the binding it, and have it exquisitely written. But
401 "they wanted true faith, and charity to their neighbours; "they stole, they were adulterers, slanderers, and back-"biters. That the true scope of the Scripture, which every "reader should make his aim, is to find Christ their Savi-"our, to cleave to his salvation and merits, to be brought "to repentance and amendment, to raise their faith to "Christ, and so to think of him as the Scriptures testify "of him. These be the principal causes why Christ did "send the Jews to *search* the Scriptures.

"Then he descended to extol God's wisdom, and praise his "providence, for preserving this incomparable treasure of "the Church, and renewing it by special miracle from age "to age. First Moses, divinely inspired, wrote the stony "tables, and the law, being forty days in the mount. After "him God sent the Prophets. But battle followed, and all "were slain; and books were burnt up. Then he inspired "Esdras to repair these Scriptures, who of his great learn-"ing set them together again. After that he provided, that "the LXX Interpreters should take them in hand. And "at the last came Christ himself. The Apostles received "them; spread them throughout all nations. Christ's mi-"racles and wonders were writ. And the Apostles, they "writ. That it must needs signify some great thing, that "God had such care to prescribe these books; and not "only so, but to maintain and defend them against the "malignity of the Devil and his ministers, who always went "about to destroy them. But notwithstanding they have "continued whole and perfect to this day.

"Next he went on to shew, how other books of mortal "wise men have perished in great numbers. He particular-"ized divers libraries at Alexandria, at Constantinople, at "Rome, and divers other places. As of later times in the "abbeys in sundry ages: besides private men's libraries. "But since God preserved these books of Scripture safe

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"and sound, and that in their native languages wherein "they were first written, in that ignorance that reigned in "those tongues, and contrary to the mischances that befel "all other books, and maugre all the worldly wits to ex-"tinguish them; we have cause reverently to embrace "them, to study them, to search them, and to instruct our "blind natures out of them.

The Romanists endeavour to suppress the Scriptures.

"Then he proceeded to consider the endeavours of "evil men to destroy or stifle the holy Scriptures, hea-"thens and Romanists. The latter from time to time "barking at them, not in open sort condemning them, but "more subtilly undermining them, under pretence that "they were too hard to understand, and very perilous to "translate; and that they could not be well translated: "and so slandering the translators. And yet themselves "would not translate them at all. In the Provincial Consti-"tutions it is inhibited under excommunication to translate "them, without the ordinaries or the provincial council "allow it. The subtilty whereof was utterly to suppress "them: they meaning never to allow or give counsel to "set them out. Unlike in this to the Fathers of the pri-"mitive Church, who exhorted all persons, men and wo-"men, to exercise themselves in the Scriptures. Unlike "their forefathers in this realm, who in their times trans-"lated whole books of Scripture: as was to be seen at that "time when the Archbishop wrote this his Preface; name-"ly, such books translated, some by Kings, some by Bi-"shops, some by Abbots, and some by other devout godly "fathers. And that very many of them were extant: "which, for the age of the speech, and the strangeness of "the character, were almost worn out of knowledge. That "among the Saxons the four Gospels were read in the "church every Sunday and festival-day, by the ordinary "Ministers in their common prayer. And this setting out "these books in the vulgar language he attributed to the "impulse of the Holy Ghost upon our ancient Fathers of "the English Church, as St. Peter affirmed the Prophets

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BOOK IV. "had the impulse of the Holy Ghost to speak out these "Divine testimonies.

Anno 1572. "He goes on to produce several authorities out of the "Fathers, Augustin, Hierom, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Basil, shewing their endeavours of advancing the holy "books. And therefore (added he) let men extol, as much "as they will, Church practices, traditions, and customs, de-
402 "cisions in synods and councils, and vaunt of the presence "of the Holy Ghost among them, yet we will be bold "to say with St. Peter, we have, for our parts, a more "stable ground, the prophetical word of the Scripture. "And we know that all prophetical Scripture standeth not "in any private interpretation, or vain names of several "churches, and catholic and universal sees, of singular and "wilful heads: which will challenge by custom all decision to pertain to them only. And notwithstanding their "strange claimed authority, we will proceed in the Reformation begun, and doubt not of our unity to Christ's "Catholic Church, and of the uprightness of our faith. As "the Spanish Clergy, in the second Council of Braccara, "assembled together by their King's commandment, trusted "to their faith and unity. Which was before Popes were "acknowledged to have that authority they now claim.

"Then he mentions the Nicene and African decrees, forbidding appeals to the Bishop of Rome; and for the ending of controversies in the provinces where they were begun: forbidding him to send his Clerks to meddle in other "provinces. That we may repose ourselves in the antiquity of the Christian Catholic Church of England. And "then fetcheth out of the laws of King Edward, how King "Lucius sent to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, requiring of "him the Christian religion; but that Eleutherius gave "over that care to the King in his epistle; 'For that the "King is Vicar of God in his own kingdom,' as he writ, "'and for that he had received the faith of Christ, and "had both Testaments in his kingdom; and to draw out "of them his laws, and by those laws to govern his realm;

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" and not so much to desire the Roman or Emperor's laws, " which had defect in them.' Eluan and Medwine, who " were Lucius's legates returning, became the former a Bi- " shop, and the other a public teacher. At whose hand the " King and all his nobility received baptism. Which story he " collected from the archives of the state of the church of " Landaff, out of the Life of Dubritius, and out of Capgrave.

" Therefore the only surety to our faith and conscience " is, to stick to the Scriptures. For the Apostle said, *What-* " *soever was written afore was written for our instruction,* " *that through patience and comfort of Scripture we might* " *have hope.* We will have patience with the vain inven- " tions of men, who exalt themselves above all that is God, " while this word of God is ROCK. We will take comfort " by the Scriptures against the maledictions of the adver- " saries; doubting not to pertain to the elect number of " Christ's Church, how far soever we be excommunicated " out of the synagogue of such who suppose themselves " the universal lords of all the world, and lords of our faith " and conscience. But it would be needless to commend " unto the reader this cause, since the godly Father, Arch- " bishop Cranmer, did it so fully in his learned Preface be- " fore the Bible, which he set out."

After this he proceeds to give the reason of this edition: "namely, because the copies of the former were so " wasted, that very many churches wanted Bibles. This oc- " casioned some well-disposed men to recognize it again in " that form it was then come out; with some further dili- " gence in the printing, and some more light added partly " in the translation, and in the order of the text: not " condemning the former translation, which was followed " mostly of any other translation, excepting the original " text, with as little variance as was thought meet to such " who took pains therein. Then he apologizeth for any " fault or error in the translation, from the nature of man " subject to error. But that the reader might be assured no- " thing was done, either of malice or wilful meaning, in al- " tering the texts, putting in more or less to the same, on

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BOOK IV. Anno 1572.

"purpose to bring in any private judgment. As some had "been overbold to do, little regarding the majesty of God's "Scripture, to make it serve to their corrupt errors. As "Hosius, to prove his doctrine of *satisfaction*, turned the "word *sanctificationem*, Rom. vi. into *satisfactionem*. Then "he blames such as cried out tragically against any error "through human negligence, when they will not translate "the Scriptures themselves at all, nor are like ever to pur-"pose it. Whereas, where error is not of malice, but sim-"plicity, especially in handling these books, so profound in
403 "sense, so passing natural understanding, it is most reason-"able not to be too severe.

"Then he warns the reader not to be offended with the "diversity of translators, nor ambiguity of translations, quot-"ing a passage out of St. Austin concerning this. That "they intended not to prejudice any men's judgment by "this new labour of the present translation; nor professed "this to be so absolute a translation, as that hereafter no "other might follow, which might see what was not yet un-"derstood. And so concludes with an excellent passage "out of Bishop Fisher, 'That many things of the Scripture "are more clearly discussed and understood by the wits of "this present age, than of the former. And there be many "dark places in the Gospel, which to posterity, without "doubt, shall be much more open. And that the Gospel "was delivered for this intent, to be utterly understood.' "Ending all with an exhortation to implore the Holy Spirit "of God to give us the understanding of his law, in the "words of David's octonary Psalm, and in the words of "King Solomon, Sap. ix." And this is the sum of that learned and religious Preface, composed by our Archbishop.

Useful tables in this Bible.

Nor must it be omitted, that the Archbishop improved this edition of the Bible, not only by many ornamental cuts and instructive pictures, dispersed up and down the book, but chiefly by divers useful tables. As, I. A table of degrees of kindred which let matrimony: and another of degrees of affinity and alliance which let matrimony. This is set at the 18th chapter of Leviticus. II. A table for the

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understanding of the histories of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, and divers other places of Scripture, very dark, by reason of the discord that is among historiographers, and among the expositors of the holy Scripture, touching the successive order of the kings or monarchies of Babylon and of Persia; of the years that the said monarchies lasted, from the transmigration of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, until the monarchy of the Greeks; and of the confusion that is in the names of the kings of Persia. This table stands before the book of Ezra. III. There is a third table for the knowledge of the state of Judah, from the beginning of the monarchy of the Greeks, (where the former table ended,) until the death and passion of our Lord. This table is placed before the books of the Maccabees. IV. A fourth table, placed before the New Testament, to make plain the difficulty that is found in St. Matthew and St. Luke, touching the generation of Jesus Christ the Son of David, and his right successor in the kingdom. Which description beginneth at David, and no higher, because the difficulty is only in his posterity. V. Yet another table is placed before the Epistle to the Romans. The intent whereof is to shew the order of times from the death of Christ; being a synchronism of the years of the reigns and governments of the Roman Emperors, Presidents of Judæa, and the Herodian family, with the years of Christ and St. Paul, to his beheading at Rome, beginning with Tiberius, Pilate, and Herod. And besides, this Bible is divided into verses: which seems to me to be the first edition of the English Bible so distinguished; excepting perhaps that of Geneva.

Portions of the Bible allotted to several to translate.

The method taken for the more exact performance of this work was this. Divers select men of learning and ability, Bishops and others, were appointed for it. To whom were allotted distinct portions of the Bible to translate, and also to revise the former translations; amounting to fifteen allotments at least. And at the end of each portion were set the first letters of each man's name in capitals. As,

The first allotment was the five books of Moses. At the

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BOOK IV. end whereof stand these capital letters, W. E. for William Exon, I suppose.

Anno 1572. The second allotment contained Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and the two books of Samuel. And at the end are set these capitals, R. M. (it is likely) for Richard Meneven.

The third allotment comprised the First and Second Book of Kings, and the First and Second of Chronicles. To which was subjoined E. W. which seems to denote Edwin Wigorn.

The fourth contained the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Job. And that portion was subscribed with the letters, A. P. C. which might stand for Andreas Peerson, Cantuariensis. One of Archbishop Parker's Chaplains, a Prebendary of Canterbury, and his Almoner.

404 The fifth allotment was the Book of Psalms, with the letters T. B. which perhaps designed Thomas Becon, another Prebendary of Canterbury, and a great writer against Popery.

The sixth took in the Proverbs. To which were the capitals A. P. C. the C. standing at some distance for distinction from the former A. P. C. *Quære.*

The seventh contained Ecclesiastes and Solomon's Song. The letters at the end were A. P. E. for Andreas Pern, Eliens.

The eighth contained Esay, Jeremiah, and Lamentations: and had the letters R. W. standing probably for Robert Winton.

The ninth allotment was Ezekiel and Daniel: and at the end stood T. C. L. Might it not be Thomas Cole of Lincolnshire, and brother to William Cole, President of Corpus Christi, Oxon, a Lincolnshire man?

The tenth contained Hosea, Joel, Amos, to Malachi inclusive: and had the letters E. L. for Edmundus London.

The eleventh portion was the two books of Esdras, Tobit, Judith, and all the rest of the Apocrypha, with the letters J. N. for Johannes Norwicen.

The twelfth was the four Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles, with the letters R. E. for Richardus Eliensis.

The thirteenth was the Epistle to the Romans, with the

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letters R. E. *quære*, unless displaced for E. R. signifying Edmundus Roffensis. CHAP. XX.

The fourteenth contained the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The letters subjoined were G. G. importing probably Gabriel Goodman, who was Dean of Westminster. Anno 1572.

The remaining epistles and books of the New Testament have no capital letters at all set to them. The Archbishop's province was not so much to translate, as to order, direct, overlook, examine, and prepare and finish all.

The course taken in this translation.

To all, let me add a word or two of the careful course that was taken in this translation, besides what was said of it before. He employed divers critics in the Hebrew and Greek languages to peruse the old translation, and to compare it diligently with the original text: and to compare likewise the Geneva translation, together with other translations also. One of those, upon whom the task for the examination of the New Testament was imposed, was Laurence, a man in those times of great fame for his knowledge in the Greek language, (and who read Greek to the Lady Cecyl, afterwards Baroness Burghly, the Lord Treasurer's lady; of whom the said Laurence testified, that she equalled, if not overmatched, any of the same profession in that language.) Whose way was to set down his own emendations of the old text under divers heads. As namely, under these words: *not aptly translated: words and pieces of sentences omitted: words superfluous: the sentence changed*, and, *error in doctrine: moods and tenses changed*: and, *places not well considered by Theodore Beza and Erasmus*. The latter of whom, as it seemed, the old translators, and the former, the Geneva translators, had followed. And I find this Bishops Bible followeth exactly these castigations of Laurence. The original of his own hand I have cast into the Appendix, as thinking it well worthy the preserving to posterity: and to shew with what exactness even this translation of the Bible was managed.

The Preface to the History of France translated.

Number LXXXV.

Stow concerning this translation.

And that our Church may see how chiefly beholden she is to the Archbishop for this edition of the sacred Scripture, I shall add what Stow, the best historian in those days,

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BOOK IV. Anno 1572.

saith of him under the year 1575, in which year he died: "He thoroughly examined the English translation of the "Bible: wherein he partly used the help of his brethren, "Bishops and other Doctors; and caused the same to be "newly printed in the largest volume, for the furniture of "many churches then wanting them."

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CHAP. XXI.

Concealers. The Archbishop laments their spoiling of the Clergy. Sends to the Bishops for information of their doings. Solicits in behalf of the poor Clergy. Is minded to repair and enlarge Bekesborn and Canterbury palaces, with the ruins of Ford. His request of the Queen for that purpose.

The Clergy oppressed by Concealers.

ABOUT the latter end of this year, the Clergy were extremely pestered with a sort of men called *Concealers*, of whom something was spoken above. These men became so odious, and so unjust, and so oppressive, that, by the Lord Treasurer's means, the Queen by proclamation revoked her commission, as was shewn before, and forced them to restore the things they had wrongfully taken. But they stood upon their justification, and laboured again to get their commission renewed. And particularly one Sir Richard Bagnal did so, who was very severe, especially upon the Clergy. The Lord Treasurer, to stop this, and to make these unjust men refund, sent his private letters to our Archbishop, desiring of him some particular information against these men; who, as the said Lord writ, stood upon their justification, and were importunate to be let loose again; the Archbishop, though his diocese had not yet been troubled by them, took hold of this phrase: saying, "Indeed "you term it rightly and aptly, *to be let loose again:* for "there could not have been devised a more extreme way to "scourge the poor Clergy, than to set such loose to plague

The Archbishop intercedes for the Clergy, Dec. 25.

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"them. If it be true, as I hear, they be marvellous visitors. They do that, I fear, whereby her Majesty shall not be judged to do that which is *regium aut pium*. Alas! saith he, however the faulters be justly plagued; howsoever the state despite the poor Ministers of the Gospel; yea, and good preachers extremely dealt withal; will this turn to honour, after the fruits, tenths, subsidies of late most liberally granted; after the arrearages of tenths, of subsidies, from King Henry's days, required and extorted; and some of these sums and arrearages twice and thrice discharged: and now after all this, such pastimes to be procured? I do not so much lament the misery and begging of the poor Priests, as I do most heartily bewail to see this manner of handling under her Majesty's merciful governance, whom I desire of all other to be graciously reported. But as I have done, I keep in my contemplations. God send us all of his favour, *ut in fine sit honorificum*. And so he told the Lord Treasurer, that at his leisure he might fortune to write what he heard concerning the abuses of these *Concealers;* if at the least way were meant such stay and redress." By which words may be gathered his doubt of it.

Informations to be sent in against the Concealers.

The Archbishop, to be sure, was not wanting to do as the Treasurer had suggested, to furnish him with instances of the unrighteous and rigorous vexations of these Concealers towards the poor Clergy. And so I find the Archbishop, in a letter wrote in November to the Bishop of Norwich, gave him this instruction: "If your Lordship or your Chancellor would make a collection, [*viz.* in writing,] for such extremities as late have been exercised upon the Clergy by certain extraordinary visitors, it would do very well. And I pray you so to do." And the like intimations seemed to be made to every Bishop for his diocese.

The Bishop of London sent to, to inform against these Concealers.

The Lord Treasurer wrote also to Sandys, Bishop of London, to give him what knowledge he had of Bagnal's doings, and to inquire into his proceedings. Whereupon he desired the Lord Treasurer to let him know unto what dioceses Bagnal's commission did extend: and he would

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572.

write unto the respective Bishops; who would be best able to certify how the case stood. And that he had taken order, that his Lordship should know what disorders had fallen out in his diocese, with convenient speed: and had writ to the Bishops of Winchester and Ely in that behalf.

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The Archbishop solicits anew against a *Melius inquirendum.*

But in April following, a hot report went abroad, that this Bagnal, and some others like him, should have a new commission for a *Melius inquirendum;* to wrack afresh the poor Clergy. This coming to the careful Archbishop's ears, he gave a short but passionate hint of it to his friend the Lord Treasurer: "The fame goes, that some Baynol, or "some ——— [concealing the name, but meaning Leicester, "I believe,] shall by commission search for a *Melius in-* "*quirendum.* I can say no more, but *Deus misereatur* "*nostri. Est modus in rebus.*" By which short expressions, insinuating the miserable estate of the Clergy: and that they had been sufficiently oppressed already, without proceeding to more oppressions of them.

And again two years after.

But by the good Archbishop's solicitations with a good man, *viz.* the Lord Treasurer, and of great sway at the Court, this matter was still kept off till the latter end of the year 1574, when there was a Parliament suddenly to come together; and then a great talk was of terrible things to be contrived against the Clergy; and especially for a *Melius inquirendum.* Whereupon he again seeks to the Treasurer, saying, "he trusted the Queen's Highness meant "not so to be induced to win a little increase of revenue, "to lose in the end ten times more. *Quod satis est sufficit.* "Adding, what a scarcity there was of able Clergymen; "and therefore rather to be encouraged than depressed. "Take away, said he, a few of the Clergy, namely, those "which were especially appointed to preach before her "Highness, and I take the rest to be but a simple sort. "And that some of the Clergy had need to be made much "of, to beat out of the commons' heads that which is "beat in."

The vexation of conceal-

But the gain that came in by this device of concealments, was the cause that such kind of oppressors were never

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CHAP. XXI.

wanting throughout this Queen's days, to solicit the Court for these commissions. For I find even in the latter end of her reign, the Churchmen, and especially the new foundations of cathedral and collegiate churches, were cruelly vexed with them. And they went so far as to procure many of the possessions of these churches as concealments; and that for very trifles. Whereby the revenues thereof were wasted and spent; contrary, undoubtedly, to the noble intentions of the royal Founders, Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth herself. Upon which, at length, the Deans and Canons presented the Lord Treasurer with a petition of complaint: which he favourably accepted: for he never liked these practices, and had a favour for these foundations. He also, with Archbishop Whitgift, spake to the Queen in their behalf: which he did so heartily, that the said Archbishop thought it convenient to acquaint the Deans and Prebendaries therewith. For which, in a letter signed by many of their hands, they thanked him; and desired withal, that at a Parliament then sitting, he would procure this evil to be remedied by an act, to confirm the grants formerly made them by the Queen and her royal ancestors. This letter, wrote from their Convocation house, may be read in the Appendix.

Anno 1572. ments lasted all the Queen's reign.

Number LXXXVI.

There belonged anciently to this great archbishopric many noble seats, and they of a first and second rank. Of the former sort were these palaces following: that at Canterbury, that at Otford, at Knol, at Croydon, and Lambeth. Of the latter were the country and manor houses at Ford, at Charte, Charing, Charteham, Tenham, Wingham, Bekesborn, and elsewhere. But before this Archbishop's time, they were almost all passed away from the see. His predecessor Cranmer used to be much at Ford, towards the latter end especially of King Edward, which was one of the oldest seats of the Archbishops of Canterbury; a *magnificent mansion*, as Philpot calls it; given by Ethelbert, King of Kent, who granted also the whole parish, called Chistlet, wherein Ford standeth, unto the said see. It had a certain proportion of land empaled round it, in form of a park, as

The Archbishop minded to enlarge his house at Bekesborn. Lamb. Perambul. p. 284. third edition.

Villare Cantian.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1572.

if they had judged it meet thereby to justify the first donation. But Bekesborn, a far less house, but more healthfully and conveniently situated, pleased Archbishop Parker better. It was a small, yet an elegant house, very commodious for the Archbishop's retirement and recess, and the river brought 407 so convenient about it, that the trouts, the principal fish there, are plentifully useful to it. But our Archbishop found Bekesborn too strait for him. Ford was larger, as he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, but very inconvenient, being an old, decayed, wasteful, unwholesome, and desolate house. To that case, it seems, it was come in his time. He therefore was minded to enlarge his house at Bekesborn with the materials of the former. This enlargement he thought needful and requisite, as well for the foreign friends as for the foreign enemies. Ford was in such a corner, and the soil such, as he thought no man would have any delight to dwell there, if he had any other place nigher the church. He would also, with the ruins of that, have repaired his palace at Canterbury, and supplied it with some better lodging. This, he said, he thought honest, and yet would leave houses enough at Ford, to such as should have the oversight of his grounds there.

Philpot's Villare Cantian.

In order to which, desires the Queen's grant of his old house at Ford.

Now, for the compassing this, it was convenient he should have the Queen's consent. For this he made use of the Lord Treasurer, entreating him to wait his opportunity to move her Highness in this suit: that he might make a deed of gift of it to her; and then that she might grant it again to him and to his successors. Not meaning, as he professed, one penny of advantage to himself, but to the commodity of the see, if it should stand in any tolerable state. This was propounded in March. But he had it in his mind the December before: but was discouraged from making the suit, the Queen having denied him in some things before: no question occasioned by some of his back friends at Court. "He had thought, as he told the Lord "Treasurer, in that month, to have uttered a small suit, "that should not have been in honour hurtful to her Ma-"jesty, nor to her purse chargeable; but that he was so

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"unlucky and unfortunate to win any thing for himself or "his friends. Which made him resolve hereafter to crave "little, as he had not used much importunity, he said, in a "dozen years before: although most of his predecessors "had things of more importance granted them by the "Prince's favour in their time. But he would hold himself "within his bounds, and take the times as they were; and "would yet do his duty in conscience, and serve to his ut-"termost power, till the day of his dissolution." And so he waved wholly the mention what his request was at this time.

His request delayed, April 27, 1573.

But his request, when he afterwards discovered it, seemed to find a favourable admission. For I find in April following, the writings were drawn concerning the translation of Ford house, and sent to the Lord Treasurer for his approbation. But there they stuck till the latter end of the year, and how long after I cannot tell. For in the month of November, he put his Lordship in mind again of this business; telling him, that if his Lordship would comfort him with her Majesty's grant, he would yet assay to amend Bekesborn building. And in the same month he again told him, that if he knew her Majesty's contentation, he would prepare towards the reparation of Bekesborn; "meaning to do, as he said, while he lived, as though he "should live ever: and yet he trusted, being ready in "all the storms of the world, to depose his tabernacle to-"morrow. Doubting not but his Lordship was so framed "for both: *per bonam famam et infamiam, per convitia* "*et laudes*, to go forward in his vocation, as God had placed "him." But the reason of the delay of this business was, I suppose, occasioned partly by the Queen's going her progress this summer; and so not at leisure to be spoken to about lesser business; and partly by the opposition of some of his Court enemies. This in fine came to nothing. Ford house stood till of late years it was pulled down by sequestrators. And the Archbishop finished Bekesborn this year, though not with that largeness and magnificence his good heart intended.

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BOOK IV.

CHAP. XXII.

408 *The Archbishop liberal, but represented otherwise. Relieves the French Protestants; and Citolinus, an Italian; and two Irish Bishops. Bishop Malachias false. The Archbishop's pains with Stourton, a young Popish Lord. His compliance.*

Anno 1573. He clears himself from the charge of covetousness.

ABOUT this time there were in England many foreigners, who had fled hither out of their own countries for the profession of the Gospel. And among these, many persons of quality that fled from France upon the massacre: as Count Montgomery, the Vidame of Chartres; and divers Ministers of France, and some Italians, and some Irish. All these, it was expected, the Churchmen should be burdened with the relief of; and particularly the Archbishop. And because they wanted at this time those supplies that were sufficient for their subsistence, the blame was presently laid upon him. And the Lord Treasurer sent a sharp message by Dr. Wilson, Master of St. Katharine's, and after Secretary of State, to our Prelate, in behalf of some of these strangers: urging him, belike, as though he had been negligent in his care of them, and that hospitality and charity was especially required of such as were preferred to ecclesiastical dignities. And indeed it was this good man's fortune, as it used to happen to all others of that function, to be charged with covetousness, and of not living suitably to their great incomes. Concerning this latter, he sent word to the Treasurer, "that if he knew the truth of his abili-"ties, he should see that he did as much as he could. He "was, he said, no gatherer, nor would be, whatsoever "they prated abroad. He professed, before God, he lied "not, that he was compelled to borrow every half year "before his money came in, for his own expenses. And "excepting a little money he had to bury him, he had no "superfluity."

His compassion to strangers,

And as to the other charge, as though he were not so diligent in relieving these strangers, at which his Lordship was

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so offended, he told him, "that it was for want of inform-
"ation: for that he was not slack, to his uttermost ability, to
"provide for strangers; *whose state I always pitied*, said
"he, *Deus novit*. And as for Count Montgomery, and
"those Ministers of France exiled, he had not only pro-
"cured, by collections, a great portion for them, but also
"gave them of his own purse a large and an honest por-
"tion among them. Which, he said, he had not yet much
"blazed, nor intended to do. Let other men delight in
"their *Gloria Patri*." Meaning this of some others that
got the report of their charities to be noised abroad, and to
come to the knowledge of the Court. And because his was
not so public, there were some that thought he had not con-
tributed at all, or very sparingly. He added, that what he
did, he would do quietly.

Anno 1573. exiles for religion;

And to be more particular, our Archbishop was a good
friend and benefactor to Alexander Citolinus, an Italian, re-
commended to him by the Lord Treasurer. He was a per-
son of great integrity and learning, and of as great modesty.
In his own country he was possessed of a plentiful estate.
But by reason of the cruelty of Papists, he was forced to
go into exile, leaving his wife and children; and endured
all with such a patience as moved pity. He came first to
Strasburg, where Sturmius kindly entertained him, and
highly valued him. And the more, because he well per-
ceived his great abilities and advancement in good learning,
by a MS. which he had writ in Italian, entitled, *Septem Die-
rum Sermones:* a work, it seems, of very great learning
and knowledge. It was not brought to a conclusion, but
was only a kind of *skeleton*, or *specimen*, of a more large
intended treatise. A work it was to be of that compre-
hensive nature, that he should need a great many leisure 409
months, and the assistance of other scholars, to bring it to
perfection. These things considered, Sturmius thought it
best for him to go over into England, where he might peace-
ably and securely follow his studies, and be encouraged by
the favour and gratuities of great men, and have the aid
of persons of learning. This made Sturmius, anno 1565,

To Alexander Citolinus, an Italian.

A learned book of his.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1573.

send him over with very earnest letters of recommendation, not only to Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir William Cecyl, and Mr. John Hales, but to the Queen herself. He wrote to Sir Anthony, that it grieved him that he wanted money to retain Citolinus with him, that by their mutual labour and industry they might finish that work; entreating him to recommend him to his son-in-law, Sir William Cecyl, and to the Queen. To whom he recommended him, not only for his religion and integrity, but chiefly for his book. The subject of it was to shew the way to attain to the highest top of wisdom: *In arcem Sapientiæ certa via et ratione ascendere. In qua* (as the said Sturmius writes to the Queen) *quicquid in universa natura est, totum illud sit locis notatum, generibus partitum, formis distinctum, idque plenum atque congestum rebus et sententiis, earumque verbis et formulis. Usque adeo ut quicquid cogitanti in mentem venire possit, illius queat ad locum decurrere, et uno aspectu intueri quæcunque de eo vel cogitatione comprehendi vel scripto notari, vel oratione exprimi debeat. Usque adeo ab uno solo initio mens hominis per omnem rerum naturam ad unum quoddam extremum indagando et perlustrando potest decurrere.* This method, he told her Majesty, Citolinus held or understood, and in his Discourses of the Seven Days did clearly shew. And so commended his work to the Queen's liberality. He wrote to Sir Anthony Cook, that whereas he had been labouring to compose his Ἀναλυτικὴ, (which I think was his book *De Inventione*,) which all men had now for many a year expected from him, and which he had been studying for thirty years, this Citolinus seemed perfectly to have attained to. To Mr. Hales he wrote, that he would fain have detained this Italian with him for two years; in which space he reckoned his work would be finished: that we might do something, saith he, profitable to posterity, not only to the rendering learning more perfect, but more easy too. What the issue of this book was, or whether ever it came to perfection, I know not; but I find the man here in England again in the year 1568. And to the year 1573, he remained not so well provided for as he ought. Only he

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still had the favour of very great and good men; particularly the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Treasurer; who wrote letters to our Archbishop in his behalf. Upon whose letters the Archbishop retained him both friendly and gently, as he writ himself, and gave him also certain French crowns. He received him at his own board, and otherwhiles in his hall, when he came. He offered him his entertainment within his house, and to provide him with things necessary. But the Earl of Bedford and he refused it, as not convenient. He signified also to him, that the Queen might give him the next advowson of a prebend in the church of Canterbury; and promised him his diligence in the same. But the Lord Treasurer liked not that. He also wrote for him to certain of his brethren, the Bishops, for some prebend. And the Bishop of Ely had wrote him back, that he had sent up one to the Lord Treasurer for him. For the next voidance also, the Archbishop was content that he should have one of the prebends which he gave in Canterbury. All this the Archbishop writ to the Lord Treasurer, to satisfy him how cordially and diligently he had consulted for this Italian's benefit, which the said Lord seemed to charge him with neglect in. And even while he was writing what was mentioned before, Citolinus came to dinner, and dined in the hall, not at the Archbishop's board, he being then distempered, and keeping his chamber. After dinner, he sent him word of the advowson of the prebend the Bishop of Ely had granted him; and because the Archbishop was going into Kent, he offered to take him with them. But he refused to make any answer till he had consulted with the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Bedford. This happened in April.

Anno 1572.

And to two Irish Bishops.

There was an Irish Bishop also about this time, for whose relief the Lord Treasurer wrote to the Bishop of London, to this purpose; that they, the Bishops, should take care for his relief. This letter the said Bishop shewed to our Archbishop. The effect was, the Archbishop retained him at his table, and gave him certain crowns. He shewed his favour likewise to another Irish Bishop, named Malachias, who

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1578.

had been long in prison for being a Papist. This man came to our Archbishop, and pretended that he was returned from Papistry; telling his Grace, that the Lord Treasurer favoured him, and was about to give him an Irish archbishopric; though when he was in prison, to the Archbishop's knowledge, he gave Popish counsel to some of the said Archbishop's servants, whom he had sent to visit him. When this Irishman resorted to the Archbishop, he desired a plurality, as he called it, meaning somewhat to hold with his bishopric; whence he received no profit. The Archbishop told him, it should be a *commendam*, that he must first sue for at the Queen's hands, and he would give him his fees, and so dismissed him, giving him an honest piece of gold, as he called it.

The falsehood of one of them.

And here, by the way, let me say a little more of this Bishop Malachias, surnamed O Molana. He was formerly Bishop of Ardagh, as he pretended. For the suspicion our Archbishop seemed to have of him was not without ground. There was an Irish gentleman named Maurice Obrien, of Magdalen college, Cambridge, whom my Lord Treasurer seemed to have placed there for the breeding him up in the Protestant principles, and got him afterwards made Bishop of Killalow in Ireland. This person discovering the falseness of Malachias, acquainted the Lord Treasurer therewith. Indeed in the month of September, the last year past, he had wrote in the behalf of this man, then living poor in the Marshalsea. Of whom he then gave this testimony to the said Lord, that he did detest unfeignedly from his heart the Antichrist of Rome, with all his adherents; and had promised to write against the Pope. And he sent two letters of the said Malachias to the Treasurer, which contained his protestations this way: so that he then hoped he would have been a profitable member of Christ's Church hereafter. Yet in the next month the said Obrien, having better information of him, and understanding that he practised with the Pope to get the bishopric of Killalow, to which the said Obrien was elected, conferred upon himself, he wrote now to the Lord Treasurer, "that Malachias was

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"still an egregious Papist and traitor, whom his wickednesses "had made famous; and that he had obtained a bull from "the Pope to obtain that bishopric, which the Queen had "granted to him. That he feigned himself a very sharp "adversary of the Popish religion; but that he would be "loath to see such an office entrusted with him, whose mind "was not at all concerned, either for the peace of that com-"monwealth, or the safety of that people. That oftentimes "the hungry fox pretendeth to be asleep; and so this man, "labouring under the hunger of a bishopric, became a "professor of truth." I put this letter into the Appendix, not justifying the good Latin of it, nor the correct spelling, but as serving to our history.

Number LXXXVII.

His submission to the Privy Council.

But the February following I meet with a very solemn submission and protestation made by this Irishman to the Queen's Privy Council. Wherein he repents of his former life led in Popish superstitions, submits himself to the Queen; and professed and swore upon the sacred Gospels, that from that hour to his death he would bear her true allegiance, that he would not be in any counsel or practice, wherein any thing was done prejudicial to the state or crown; but that he would discover such things if he knew them. This submission, under his own hand, I place also in the Appendix. He had subscribed also to the Articles of Religion.

Number LXXXVIII.

In the month following I find him still in the Marshalsea, when (March 10, 1572.) he wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer, signifying, that he understood by the Bishop of Killalow, that his Lordship and the rest of the Privy Council received in good part his former protestation. And then he again renewed his promises, that he would faithfully perform and make good what he had said; and that if more were in his power, he would not be deficient. And therefore prayed deliverance from that prison. And it seems he soon after obtained his liberty. For it was in the month after that he applied himself from the Lord Treasurer to our Archbishop, as was said above.

Stourton, a young Popish Lord,

In the beginning of this year the Lord Stourton, a young gentleman, whose name was John, the eldest son of that

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Charles, Lord Stourton, whom Queen Mary made an example of severity for a barbarous murder, notwithstanding his being a zealous Roman Catholic, which he thought would have procured him a pardon. This young Lord, by the advice of his instructor, one Williams, then in the Marshalsea, privately attempted to steal away beyond sea, and to become a fugitive; but by some means or secret intelligence was seized, the Queen being then very jealous of her subjects, especially persons of honour, going out of England, lest they might, with the King of Spain, combine against her. He being taken, was put under strait confinement; and the Queen's Majesty's high displeasure was signified to him: but this imprisonment was but short. The next care was to bring him off from the prejudices of his education, and to make him a good subject to the Queen. And for that purpose he was committed to the Archbishop's keeping, in the month of April, at Lambeth; where he sat with him at his table, and enjoyed his conversation. The Archbishop was instructed to deal with him, in order to the making him sensible of his error in what he had done, and bringing him to be willing to come to Protestant common prayer and sermon. Accordingly he and some of his Chaplains conferred with him, and entertained him with all friendliness. In his discourses with him he found he was of no reading, but depended upon some of his old corrupt instructions. The Archbishop laid before him his unkindness to the Queen's Majesty, to steal away from her governance in such sort, and charged him with unnatural affection towards his country, to withdraw his such aid as he might do unto it: telling him, that if her Majesty's favour were not yet the more, he might be utterly undone. This discourse of the Archbishop with him had this effect, that it made him perceive his own folly and great oversight, and promise, that hereafter he would be better advised, and take better heed. He feared much that her Highness was in great displeasure with him, and fain he would have pardon, and desired much to hear some comfortable words, that he might understand of her Highness' mercy and clemency; howsoever his fool-

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ish youth, as he said, had overseen itself. Some comfort he gathered, because he was no longer kept in prison, nor committed more hardly. The kind Archbishop promised him to write in his favour.

The pains the Archbishop took with him.

He found him at first very stiff, insomuch as he could not hear of the disabling of his religion, and of the reasonableness of ours; which the Archbishop told him was established by public authority, however some fond people, pretending the love of it, go out of the way. Nor could he persuade him to come to the daily prayers in the chapel with his household. But some time after he relented, and seemed to be ready to hear and read, and thought in some things otherwise than he had done. And April the 25th, the very day wherein the Archbishop writ all this, beforementioned, unto the Lord Treasurer, concerning this Lord, he promised that he would come unto the common prayer both then and after. The Archbishop told the said Lord concerning him, that he had good trust in his nature, and that he thought it pity, *linum fumigantem extinguere.* He saw *honesty* in him, as he termed it; and gave this instance of it: that when the Archbishop had charged him much, that his schoolmaster, then in the Marshalsea, had been his instructor, upon whom he depended; he thought utterly to excuse him, and commended him, and sorry he was that he should be hardly entreated for his sake; as not guilty any more, than when he spake to his tutor to go over with him, he agreed thereto. The Archbishop advised to use mercy towards him: that as Terence said, *Pecuniam in loco negligere, maximum interdum lucrum;* so he thought, *Summum jus non exigere, summum interdum lucrum.* As he thought her Majesty was altogether inclined that way, though in necessary severity he doubted not her Majesty would do like a Prince. And so having acquainted the Lord Treasurer with his case, he left it to him to order it as he should think best; praying that he might hear of some information to instruct or to comfort his guest; or to hold him yet in some suspense about all his doubts. Two days after he petitioned the Queen that he might hear some

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favourable message from her, and his suit was reposed with his uncle, the Earl of Darby; and that because he understood the Archbishop was going into Kent. Who had appointed a gentleman to wait upon the said Lord Stourton in his absence. Yet I find the Archbishop at his house at Lambeth the latter end of July, when he sent a message to the Lord Treasurer to know how this his guest should be used.

412 So that all this summer he remained under the Archbishop's roof at Lambeth. The Queen went her progress this summer, and so left this Lord under restraint till her return home. In November, the Lord Treasurer sent one Mr. Arundel to the Archbishop with this message, that he should send unto his Lordship some commendations of the Lord Stourton. Whereupon the Archbishop wrote him word, that he could testify of his coming to his chapel with the rest of his household, and that he gave ear to the Lessons there read, and heard such sermons as were made there. He saw him also modestly behaving himself, and orderly at the table, according to his degree so used by him; and prayed his Lordship to be good unto him for his further liberty.

His conformity.

CHAP. XXIII.

Puritans taken up. Examined about Cartwright's book, in several inquiries. Some expressions of Dering in his Lectures. The Council's judgment upon these men. The Archbishop of York to our Archbishop concerning them. The Archbishop constitutes Dr. Clerk Official of the Arches. Sends the Lord Treasurer the book of Gervasius Tilburiensis; Lambard's Perambulation; and his own Antiquitates Britannicæ. His account and reason in writing thereof. Resolution to some doubts about this book. Joscelin's assistance in it. His own life omitted in his book. Some account thereof.

The Puritans offer a disputation.

THE prosecution of the Puritans went now vigorously forward, more than ever it had done, the Queen being re-

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solved to suppress them. For they had too openly depraved the orders established by law: which gave the Queen great offence. And they and their friends had lately cried out much for a public disputation. The Bishop of London therefore, not being afraid of the cause, and to satisfy the people, offered in writing to the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester, certain names of such as he thought meet for the dispute on both sides. But the Lord Treasurer prudently answered, that it were not fit that her Majesty should call her established laws into question.

Examined about Cartwright's book.

About this time, in the beginning of the year, divers of the most eminent men among them were taken up, and brought before the Council, and before the ecclesiastical commission. And particularly, about Cartwright's book, several were examined by the Council; namely, Dering, Wiborn, Johnson, Brown, Field, Wilcox, Sparrow, and King. Of these, Johnson was Chaplain to the Lord Keeper, and dwelt in Middlesex, near Mr. Gresham; and J. Brown was Chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk. These men were examined, as was said, about the book, and other matters relating to the Reformation of this Church, boldly contradicted therein, under these articles:

In five articles. MSS. G. Petyt, Armig.

I. Whether it be lawful for a private man openly to disprove or condemn in doctrine, that thing that is established by public authority, before he hath by humble supplication shewed the error thereof to the said authority; expressing his name and hand to the same?

II. Whether the Book of Service be good and godly, every tittle grounded on holy Scripture?

III. Whether the Book of Articles, established by Parliament, be agreeable to God's word, or not?

IV. Whether we must of necessity follow the primitive Church in such things as be used or established, or not?

V. Whether all Ministers in the Church of God should 413 be of equal authority, as well concerning their jurisdiction, as administration of the word and sacraments?

Four condemn Cartwright's book.

Four, one after another, (I do but transcribe out of the MS.) were called, *viz.* Dering, Johnson, Wyborn, Brown;

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who all subscribed to the first question, that it was not lawful. One then present said, they had all condemned Mr. Cartwright's book.

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Field and Wilcox in Newgate.

Field and Wilcox were now prisoners in Newgate, by commandment from the High Commissioners; but were cherished by frequent visits of divers ministers and preachers that resorted to them: namely, (according to the certificate given in of their names by the jailor of Newgate,) Wyborn, Cartwright, Dering, Humfrey, (who is noted here to have denied in certain letters sent to them, that he would subscribe,) Lever, Crowley, Johnson, and Brown: Dr. Fowks [Fulk] also visited them: and one James Young was a common carrier of news for them and their visitors.

Dering's assertions in his lecture. MSS. G. Petyt, Armig.

As for Dering, there were these sayings produced to have been spoken by him, as some of his assertions. "Mr. Dering said in his lecture at Paul's upon Tuesday was seven-night, the 3d of April, that Christ did descend into hell only, by suffering the great burden of our sins, hanging on the cross. And that that descending that the old Fathers do speak upon, that he should afterwards descend into hell, is but a mere superstitious error of the Fathers, and Papistry.

"In his lecture, the 5th of this month, he likewise affirmed the same; and also did say, that it was unlawful, and against the law of nature, that any man should be suffered to hang on any gallows after that he is dead.

"In the next lecture, the 7th of this month, he did say, that nowadays it was thought well enough for a good Minister, if he have a gown, and a cap and tippet, though he do not preach. If he have a gown and tippet, he is an honest man: if he have a gown and tippet, he is well-learned, and hath no fault, and that though he do never come at his benefice.

"*Item*, At his lecture he openly protested, that of right the election of Ministers to benefices or cures belongeth to the people, and of ancient writers is justified that it ought to be so.

MSS. Cecilian.

"*Item*, The 11th day of December, 1572, he said, putting off his cap, Now I will prophesy, that Matthew Parker

"shall be the last Archbishop of Canterbury: or (as it is "related in another MS.) that he shall be the last Arch-"bishop that shall sit in that seat. *Accipio omen*, quoth "Cartwright. The third man said, that *they should first* "*rue it*, with other opprobrious words spoke at that time."

The judgment pronounced by the Council on these men.

The issue of the appearance and examination of these men was this. The Council took order, that Dering should not read his lectures at St. Paul's; nor the other three, Wyborn, Johnson, and Brown, preach till further order. It was then said to Field and Wilcox, that they should return again to their lodging, but the day following to Newgate. Whereof they, the Council, could not dispense, being so set down by statute, except the Queen would pardon them. Which if they could not obtain, they should be banished the realm for disliking our book of religion. And after, it was said to Sparrow and King, that they should return to their prisons: and if they would not agree to our religion, they should be banished also.

Some of these Puritans enjoyed dignities in the Church.

How they got off I know not, but I think they suffered no infliction of banishment, as was threatened them. For I find in December, Grindal, Archbishop of York, taking notice to the Archbishop of Canterbury of some of them at London: as, that Cartwright was lodged in Cheapside, at Mr. Martin's house, the goldsmith, (the same, I suppose, who was of the Mint, and afterwards Lord Mayor of London,) and that his wife was the stationer for all the first impression of her husband's book. The same Archbishop of York told Canterbury in the same letter, that he liked not 414 that Wyburn and Johnson, and some others of that persuasion, should have prebends and benefices in the Church, who were such enemies to it. Among them was one Dr. Penny, who was once a preacher, but then was turned a physician, and still enjoyed a good prebend in Paul's. "They are content," said the Archbishop of York, "to "take the livings of the English Church, and yet affirm it "to be no Church. *Beneficium datur propter officium.* If "they will do no office, let them receive no benefit." But let

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us leave this argument a while, intending by and by, a little further in the year, to return to it again.

Anno 1578.

Dr. Clerk, Official in the Arches. Reg. Park.

May the 3d, the Official's place of the Court of the Arches was granted by the Archbishop to Bartholomew Clerk, LL. D. of whom so much before. Dr. Yale had executed the office before by letters commissional from the Archbishop, being only granted him *durante beneplacito*. May the 3d, the Archbishop withdrew and revoked those letters; and by commission granted the place to Clerk, a gentleman of great abilities, and of a stirring nature, and a very excellent scholar, and who had the last year wrote well against Sanders; and whom the Archbishop made great use of this year in his visitation of his cathedral church. But as in May the Archbishop for his merits had preferred him to this place, so the very next month the Queen, by the instigation of some of the Archbishop's enemies at Court, commanded him to remove the said Clerk, on pretence he was too young for the place, though he were six and thirty years of age, and he that had occupied that office before him was not so old when he came first into it: a large account of which matter we have heard already.

Chap. xvii.

The Archbishop sends certain MSS. to the Lord Treasurer, viz.

In this month of May did the Archbishop send to the Treasurer three books, all savouring of that sort of learning that he was so well versed in, *viz.* antiquity, and old story of his native country, England; which the Treasurer also was not a little addicted to, and skilled in.

Gervas. Tilberiensis;

The first was a MS. of Gervasius Tilberiensis, sometime a Treasurer of the Exchequer. This falling into our antiquarian's hands, he caused to be copied and sent to him, because he doubted whether his Lordship had seen the book or no, and thought it not unmeet for his office, being in the highest and most honourable trust in the Exchequer. This author Lambard in his Perambulation alleging, called him a learned man, that flourished in the days of Henry II. and mentioned this book, which he called his Dialogue of the Observations of the Exchequer. A remarkable passage whereof he upon occasion repeated.

Page 227. Pakeman's edit.

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Which was, "that till the times of Henry I. kings used "not to receive money of their lands, but victuals for the "necessary provision of their house. And towards the pay-"ment of the soldiers' wages, and such like charges, money "was raised out of the cities and castles in which tillage "and husbandry was not exercised." The *Historia Literaria* mentioneth two MSS. copies of this book of Gervasius, the one in the Exchequer Archives, and the other in Caius college in Cambridge. The former, I suppose, is that very book that our Archbishop presented to the Lord Treasurer; who very probably left it in those archives, as the properest place for it. And the other in Caius college might be another copy, or perhaps the original, whence the Archbishop got that he sent to the Treasurer transcribed.

Lambard's Perambulation of Kent; and

The second book was a description of the county of Kent, written and laboured by the aforesaid William Lambard of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. a curious antiquary. This book in MS. the author had sent to the Archbishop, to peruse, to correct, and amend: and so to be under the reformation of some whom he judged to be conversant in histories: not meaning to put it abroad till it had suffered the hammer of some of his friends' judgments, (as the Archbishop wrote to the Treasurer,) and then, at further deliberation, peradventure to set it forth. Which book, although, as he suggested to the Treasurer, he had no commission to communicate, yet he was willing to shew it him, because he thought his Lordship not unwilling in such knowledge to be partaker; and that he might correct and amend it when his leisure could serve him: praying him in the mean time to keep it to himself. By which hints we may collect the value of that book, which as it had a very learned man for its author, so it had the perusals, corrections, and additions of two other men of learning in antiquity; and they no less than an 415
Archbishop of Canterbury and a Lord Treasurer of England. This book came forth in print in the year 1576.

Antiquitates Britannicæ.

The last of those three books, which, as before was said, he sent the Treasurer, was one of his own, printed the year before, but as yet kept with him, without dispersing any

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or very few of them. This book was the *Antiquitates Britannicæ;* bearing this title, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ: et Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis; cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXX. Historia.* And was printed by John Day, in the year 1572. For, he said, he was not minded to suffer these travels of his abroad in this quarrelous and envious world. And as Lambard had made the Archbishop the judge of his work, before spoken of, so he made Lambard the judge of this labour of his. They were both of a mind, "using that foresight to sup-"press their labours *in nonum annum*, as Horace coun-"selled, rather than to suffer an undigested and tumultu-"ous collection to be gazed on by many folks, as he sig-"nified unto the Lord Burghley." The reason of his employing himself in this study, as he told the said Lord, was to make compensation for his not preaching oftener: "For "neither his health nor quiet would suffer him to be a "common preacher. Yet he thought it not unfit for him "to be otherwise occupied in some points of religion. For "his meaning was by that his *poor collection*, as he mo-"destly called it, (thus caused to be printed, and yet re-"served to himself,) to note at what time Augustin, his "first predecessor, came into England; what religion he "brought in with him, and how it continued; how it was "fortified and increased, as might by most of his predeces-"sors appear, (as he could gather of such rare and written "authors that came to his hands,) until the days of King "Henry VIII. when the religion began to grow better, and "more agreeable to the Gospel."

His apology for his book.

The good Prelate was very modest, and fearful that some things which he had digested in his book might be laid to his charge as vanities. As, that he had mentioned here the names of the rest of his fellow Bishops that were first consecrated in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. That he had also in this book, which he sent to the Lord Treasurer, bound it costly, and laid in colours the arms of the church of Canterbury, empaled with his own paternal coat. For which he makes this apology: "That his Lordship

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"might indeed note many vanities in his doings, but he "thought it not against his profession to express his own "times, and give some testimony of his fellow-brothers, of "such of his coat, as were in place in her Majesty's reign, "and when himself was thus placed. And though his "Lordship might rightly blame an ambitious fancy in him "for setting out their church's arms in colours, yet he told "him, that he might [if he pleased] relinquish the leaf, and "cast it into the fire. And he had joined it but loose in "the book for that purpose, if he so thought it meet: and "as he might, if it so liked him, (without great grief to "him, the Archbishop,) cast the whole book the same way. "This book, he said, he had not given to four men in the "whole realm: and peradventure, added he, it shall never "come to sight abroad, though some men, smelling of the "printing it, were very desirous cravers of the same. He "was content to refer it wholly to his judgment to stand "or fall. For the present he purposed to keep it by him, "while he lived, to add and mend as occasion should serve "him, or utterly to suppress it, and to bren it. And thus, "as he told his Lordship, he made him privy to his follies. "And for that he had within his house, in wages, drawers "[of pictures], and cutters, [that is, engravers,] painters, "limners, writers, and bookbinders, he was the bolder to "take his occasion thus *equitare in arundine longa*. So "spending his wasteful time within his own walls, till Al-"mighty God should call him out of this tabernacle."

Some doubts of his book resolved. Number LXXXIX.

This, that I have thus extracted out of his Grace's own letter, (a copy whereof will be seen in the Appendix,) may give resolution to some things that have amused learned men concerning that book. As, whether he were the real author, or rather his Secretary Josselyn. For here he makes it his own, and the employment of his wasteful hours.

Indeed Joscelin must not be denied to have had a great 416 hand in the collections, serving to the compiling of this history, taken by him out of our ancient historians; many of which collections I have seen in the Cotton library, hastily

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and roughly written. As I make little doubt the Archbishop appointed other learned men about him to make their collections to the same end and purpose. Who also might compose as well as collect their shares and portions, as well as Joscelyn. What we think of him we shall shew by and by. And secondly, how it came to pass that our Archbishop's own life was not set forth with the other sixty-nine Archbishops, his predecessors; though it was promised in the title-page, that the book should account for all the seventy Archbishops of Canterbury; whereof himself was the seventieth; and when, in the life of Archbishop Warham, the life of Matthew is promised to be given the reader in due place. For where some speech was there had concerning Bishop Tonstal, reference is made to the life of Archbishop Parker, for something more to be said of him there. But in the said book this Archbishop's life appeareth not. Which omission must be resolved undoubtedly into the same cause, *viz.* our Archbishop's modesty; resolving (however it were intended at first) to suppress his own history, at least as long as he lived; and prudently concluding to prevent occasion of any sinister reflections to be thereby made upon him.

The Archbishop's life omitted in his book.

Ut in Matthæi Parkeri Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi vitâ inferius dicemus, p. 312. edit. Hanover.

Though written and ready.

For it is to be known, that our Archbishop's life was written in elegant Latin, and ready for the printing, under the title of *Matthæus*. And though it came not forth with the rest of the lives in the foresaid book, yet it got into the press afterwards, (and, as it seems, in the Archbishop's lifetime, and with his privity,) and was printed as a distinct tract by itself in folio, consisting of twelve leaves and an half; the number of the pages set at the bottom of each leaf, where the collational letters usually stand. Those (and they very few) that were printed were kept carefully undispersed (I believe) in the Archbishop's own possession till his death; and then gotten, as a treasure, into the hands of some curious men, who added them to the end of the life of his immediate predecessor, Cardinal Reginald Pole. Probably Joscelyn was the writer; but the Archbishop himself took the review, corrected, augmented, and

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perfected it. For I observe, wheresoever mention is made of his laudable acts, and reflections made thereupon to his commendations, there followeth after some caution or revocation, removing the praise from the Archbishop himself to the Divine grace and assistance, with expressions of humility and self-debasement. This tract is therefore the more to be valued on this account, that it was overseen by himself, and had so many strokes and sentences of his own pen added and inserted therein. This also is to be noted in this life of our Archbishop, that towards the end is a blank page and an half: which vacancy, I reckon, was reserved to be filled up after the Archbishop's death, with a relation of the last passages of his life, his sickness, death, and funeral. This *Matthæus*, being so scarce a piece, and so long wanting to the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, and so much desired by the learned, I have taken care (chiefly by the judgment and advice of the right reverend the Lord Bishop of Ely) to insert among the records and select papers in the Appendix, transcribed from his own book. Numb. XC.

Variations observed in this book.

But to return to our Archbishop's book of the British Antiquities: it is remarkable also, that there be other variations in the first printed book; which make some conjecture there were two editions of it in the same year; but that is very improbable.

In the life of Augustin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, at page 4. are two leaves inserted: (which, nevertheless, I find are entered in the Hanover edition.) And in the Preface, towards the end, in some books, are these words found; *Cujus* [scil. *lucubrationis in hoc libro impensæ*] *tota laus summo ac divino antistiti Domino Matthæo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo tribuenda est; qui*, &c. In others, the Archbishop's name being concealed, it is read only thus; *Ei tribuenda est qui*, &c. For (it is like) the good Archbishop, upon the view of the Preface, would not have his name appear so publicly, that it might not be thought he affected glory or fame.

To the book that hath this Latin life of Archbishop 417

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Matthew inserted, are added several sheets, (by way of Appendix,) concerning the affairs of the University of Cambridge. Whereby, it seemed, the grateful Archbishop meant to express his respects to that place of his education, as he had before in his book expressed it towards his see, as a learned friend hath well conjectured.

I. The first tract is entitled, *Catalogus Cancellariorum, Procancellariorum, Procuratorum, ac eorum, qui in Academia Cantabrigiensi ad Gradum Doctoratus aspiraverunt. Et numerus omnium Graduatorum ab anno* 1500 *usque ad annum* 1571. It is succinctly digested into tables, each year having its table, with the coat of arms of every Chancellor; and notes of any remarkable matters happening in the University, set under each year. But before these tables are two or three pages filled with the ancient arms of the University, of the Chancellor's seal, and of all the colleges; the exact figure and dimensions of the public schools; and the effigies of Queen Elizabeth on her throne, Justice and Mercy holding the crown over her head, and Fortitude and Prudence supporting her throne with their hands. The Archbishop had drawers and gravers in his family, and in this kind of works he employed their spare hours.

II. Then follow, under the title *Indulta Regum*, the many royal charters and privileges granted the University, beginning at Henry III. and continuing through all the intermediate reigns unto Queen Elizabeth. These *Indulta* are prefaced with these notable words; *Hæc omnia monumenta ad annum* 1548. *præter paucula quædam, habuit Academia Cantabrigiensis partim in cistis suis sub sigillis, partim scripta in Registris; præcipui in magno nigro libro pargameni. Et caveant Procancellarii et Procuratores, ne ista pereant; vel quæ imposterum obvenient nova, negligentius omittantur: sed ut à Registrario suo deinceps in archivis exscribantur.* This careful and prudent charge to the chief officers of the University, and this search into the charters, and the taking of an exact catalogue of them, was done by

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him (as it appears) in the year 1548, when he was Vice-Chancellor, for the more faithful and diligent discharge of his duty in that place.

III. To these charters are subjoined certain compositions, *viz.* between the University and King's college, &c. confirmations and privileges, indentures, decrees; old University books in the custody of the Vice-Chancellor *pro tempore.*

IV. *Particulæ, quæ Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Magistratibus ac Ministris conservandæ successive traduntur:* such as armour, standards, measures, weights, balances, &c. which were in the custody of the Proctors and Taxers *pro tempore.*

V. A *memorandum* of divers books belonging to the University, delivered by the executors of John Mere, late Beadle deceased, to Matthew Stokes, the University Register.

VI. A mention of such books as our Archbishop gave to the University library, under this title, *Matthæus Cantuariensis dedit Academiæ Cantabrigiensi, in Bibliotheca sua communi servandos, hos libros sequentes, anno Dom.* 1574. This is misplaced in the Bishop of Ely's book, (which I make use of,) and should have been placed next after the tract of the Foundation of the Schools, &c. which follows.

VII. *De Scholarum, Collegiorumque in Academia Cantabrigiensi Patronis ac Fundatoribus.*

VIII. *Episcopi ex Academia Cantabrigiensi, qui ab anno Christi* 1500 *usque ad annum* 1571. *Principi et regno servierunt.* This is by way of table, digested into four columns, *viz.* 1. *Sedes;* beginning with the see of Canterbury. 2. *Nomina.* 3. *Gradus.* 4. *Ann. Dom.*

IX. In some books (though it be not in this I have before me) there is also a description of the progress of Queen Elizabeth through the county of Kent, in the year 1573.

Of these rare books, the right reverend Father the Bishop of Ely, in his most copious and exquisite library, hath one; which in his great humanity, and readiness to forward all good learning, he hath lent to me. There is another in the public library of the University of Cambridge. A third in the library of St. John's college there. And a fourth in

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BOOK IV. the possession of the reverend and learned Mr. Thomas Baker, B. D. Fellow of the said college. But the choicest of all was lately possessed by the late most reverend Archbishop Sancroft. Which was Joscelyn's own book, (as I have been told,) and corrected and enlarged in many places by his own pen. Which after came into the hands of Mr. Wharton, his Chaplain: and, had he lived, would have been published with his additions, together with the British Antiquities.

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The excellent method of the book once intended.

I cannot but observe, moreover, the exact manner wherein the Archbishop once intended to set forth this book, by a printed sheet thereof, which I have seen: being (I suppose) the Archbishop's first design in laying the method of his book. It was so ordered, that you had under your view, in the same page with the life of each Archbishop, the concurring and synchronical history of the Church, and of the State, and of the Popes, in so many distinct columns; with the years of our Lord, of the English Kings, and the Emperors and Popes, and the mention how long each reigned, prefixed at the head of each page: after this scheme or fashion:

Anno Dom. 596.	AUGUSTINUS.	
Rex Cantii Æthelbert regnavit ann. LVI.	Pont. Romani.	Imperatores Romani.
Ecclesiastica.	Gregorius Magnus sedit annis 13. mens. 6. dieb. 10.	Politica. Domestica.
Under which head are related the Church affairs.	*This is the column for the history of the respective Archbishops.*	*Under this column are related matters civil and domestic.*
	At the bottom of this column are related matters referring to the Popes, contemporaries with each Archbishop.	

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CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1578.

But this method was not observed in the editions, but all was compiled together in one continued history. This seemed to be an excellent method, and well devised to give the reader a clear and distinct knowledge of the stories of the respective times, and bespake the author a man of a methodical as well as learned head: but whatsoever was the reason, (perhaps the foreseen difficulty that would arise in distinguishing every where matters under their proper columns,) the Archbishop changed his mind, declining this way of writing.

What assistance Josselyn gave to this work.

What assistance John Josselyn, an Essex man, the Archbishop's Secretary, gave to this work, was undoubtedly very considerable. He was, by the Archbishop's counsel, a diligent reader of the English ancient historians, not then printed, and made great collections out of them; which are still remaining in a Cotton volume under Vitellius's head. And they have this title, *Annales Angliæ ex Historiis MSS.* viz. *Matt. Paris, Matt. Westmonasterien. Florentii Wigorn;* and many more; and among the rest John Wickliff. Whence he took many things concerning his opinions and the process against him. These Annals reach from the year of Christ 1067, to 1389. Among many other tracts and exscriptions out of the ancient historians, there is a rough treatise in Latin, with this title, *The Ecclesiastical History of England, and of the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, by Mr. John Goscelin.* Which makes me think the Archbishop did at first intend the work should go forth under Josselin's name, or that Josselin himself had a mind it should. And then a discourse ensues, under this title; *De Vetustate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ Testimonia,* beginning with these words; *Emissuri in vulgus brevem quandam Cantuariensium, aut (si veteri vocabulo uti magis placeat) Dorovernensium, seriem, non temerè puto facerem, neque magnopere ab instituto, si paulo altius,* &c. The next title of discourse is; *Quis primo Christi doctrinam tradidit Britannis.* The next this; *Britannos, amplexos Christi fidem, nunquam postea prolapsos esse ad Ethnicismum.* The next; *De Christiana Religione publica Lucii Regis Au-*

Vitellius E. 14.

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BOOK IV. Anno 1578. V. VI.

thoritate introducta. The next; *De Flaminum et Archiflaminum Sedibus in Episcoporum et Archiepiscoporum Sedes mutatis.* The next; *Quorundam Londinensium Archiepiscoporum Nomina:* which begins thus; *Temporibus Britonum in urbe Londinensi multi floruerunt Archiepiscopi,* &c. Which heads, I suppose, were suggested unto him by the Archbishop. Then, after a few leaves, begin the Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury; where Augustin is the first, and Simon Sudbury the last, who died about 1381. Whether the work were continued by Josselin, or by some else, or by the Archbishop alone, I know not. But by the short account I have given of that MS. tract, we may conclude, that though the groundwork seemed to be Josselin's, yet the Archbishop made many alterations, corrections, additions, and augmentations, and put the last hand to it, as may be in part seen by comparing the printed book, and that little I have said of the said MS.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbishop encourages Whitgift to defend his book against Cartwright. Whitgift's letter to the Archbishop hereupon. The Archbishop gives the Council warning of that faction. Comes to the Star-chamber; where some Puritans appear. A proclamation for resort to common prayer, and against the Admonition. The Archbishop's deep resentments of these innovations.

The Archbishop writes to Whitgift concerning his contest with Cartwright.

LET us now return to the *dissatisfied party,* whom we must call, according to the ordinary style in those days given them, *Puritans* and *Precisians,* and as the Archbishop used to name them; and observe what further steps they made. *The Admonition to the Parliament* had been answered by Dr. Whitgift: and very probably one of the chief persons that put him upon this work was our Archbishop. But after he had made this answer, and published it, the party was restless till it was replied to. Several were

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talked of to do this piece of service. Among the rest, one Norton, a man of fame among them, the same no doubt with him mentioned before, concerned in the dispute with Campion. This man was now reported to have answered Whitgift, or about to do it: and that he had a private press for that purpose. This came to the ears of Cox, Bishop of Ely, which made him write to our Archbishop, giving him intelligence of the same; saying, that it were not amiss the said Norton's house were searched. But the chief adversary, and whom it most concerned to reply upon Whitgift, was Thomas Cartwright, the chief author of the Admonition: which therefore he did, and that with abundance of sharpness, and a mixture of falsehood. Now it lay upon Whitgift to vindicate himself and his cause. And so he vigorously set himself to compile a Defence of his answer, in the summer of this year. The Archbishop, who had observed with what rude and scurrilous language the replier had treated Whitgift, and fearing he might be discouraged from dealing any further with such kind of disingenuous adver- 420
saries, (for so some of that party had given out,) wrote a letter himself to him to encourage him; advising him not to be dejected, but to go on in a work of so public concern. He seemed also to advise him to use as much brevity as he could, not seeming, on that account, to like that he should insert the adversary's whole book, as likely to swell his own work to too great a bulk; and lastly, that he should hasten his Defence, because the vulgar did so applaud and cry up Cartwright's Reply.

Whitgift's Reply to the Archbishop.

Dr. Whitgift was now busy about his book, and was gone as far as tract the 8th, concerning Archbishops. And being honoured with so kind and condescending a letter from our Prelate, returned him this answer.

Dris Whitgift. Epist. pen. me.

"I thank your Grace most humbly for your letters. I "thank God I am as quiet in mynde, as chearful in hart, "as much delyted in studye, and as wylling to take any "payns in these matters, as ever I was: though the un-

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"christian tongue of this schismatical faction do brute "abrode the contrarie. I do not mynde to set downe any "other boke but my owne, without the Admonition, his "replye, and my answere to the same. Which I must of "necessity do, bothe to detect hys fraudulent dealing, to "open his manifest untruthes, and to avoyde cavilling. "The boke wyll be something bygg, but I trust not te-"dious to any that shall be desyerus to see the depth of "this controversie. Moreover, I fynd that to be the easiest "and the best way for me to deal by. Wherefore I be-"seche your Grace, let me in that matter follow my owne "judgment, which, I trust, God hath put in my head, as "simplye the best. And I dowte not but to fynisch the "boke in such tyme, as that it may well be thorowlye "printed by the next Parlament. For Cartwright's boke, "this I will only say at this tyme, that howsoever that now "appearith to many, yet ys that so stuffed with grosse "oversightes, false allegations of authors, misconstrueings "and expoundings, both of Scriptures and Doctors, lack of "skyll in logyke, and fonde reasons, that he that shall tho-"rowly peruse that, wyll think the author thereof to have "reade hymself very litle, and not to be the man that he "ys reported to be. I am now among Archbishops: when "I am past them, the rest of the boke hath no great sub-"stance. Thus with my harty prayers for your Grace, I "commyt both you, my self, and all others that seke the "peace of the Church to hys safe and blessed tuition. "This 4th of June, an. 1573.

His censure of Cartwright's book.

"Your Graces to commande,

"Jhon Whitgyfte."

Whitgift's Defence, when finished.

By which letter we may see what the private and real judgment of this learned man was concerning Cartwright and his book. In the latter end of this year Whitgift finished this his Defence, and printed it off. For on February the 4th I find he presented the book to the Lord Treasurer.

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But upon the Puritans writing of the forementioned book, and others, the Queen's anger was awakened anew against them, and she gave out fresh commands to see after the regulation of these evils. Whereat the Archbishop in May takes occasion to excite the Lord Treasurer, and those of the Privy Council; that seeing her Highness was justly offended with this dissolute writing, and intended a reformation thereof, it was needful to be earnestly laboured in on their parts, which were supreme judges, and who were long ago called on. Otherwise he feared they should feel Muncer's commonwealth attempted shortly: and that it must needs follow, whereof Sleidan wrote in his history. "If the "laws of the land be rejected, if the Queen's Majesty's In-"junctions, if her chapel, if her authority be so neglected; "if our Book of Service be so abominable," [for to this pass were the Puritans now come, to reckon the Service Book *abominable*, which formerly they had generally a good value for,] "and such paradoxes applauded to, God send us of "his grace, I fear our wits be infatuated, *ut Deus in ple-"nitudine temporis supplicium sumat.*"

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The Archbishop to the Council concerning the Puritans;

Sleid. lib. 5.

And in the beginning of June, some of these men, who were now labouring hard at the overthrow of Bishops, were, as it seems, had up to the Star-chamber: where our Archbishop also came, and declared probably the evils that were drawing on both Church and nation by their means; and the great danger of the Queen herself. Coming home, he seconded what he had done at the Star-chamber, by a letter to the Lord Treasurer. They had been there pretty brisk upon these men; but fearing they should cool again, as they had done formerly, he excited him and the rest, in his said letter, to proceed against them. He said, "he knew "them to be cowards: and if they [of the Privy Council] "gave over, they should hinder her Majesty's governance "more than they were aware, and much abate the estima-"tion of their own authorities. Protesting before God, "that it was not the fear he was in of displacing," [which the Puritans now ran all upon, *viz.* to turn out the Bishops, and make the office unnecessary, as well as Antichristian,]

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And upon their design of the overthrow of Bishops.

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"but he would wish her Majesty's safety and estimation. "And in that, he said, he was careful, as one well willing: "and therefore was more busy, than peradventure [some "thought] he needed to be. But yet he should pray to "God, that all things might prosperously succeed."

The Puritans' writings and practices give occasion to a proclamation.

Cartwright's Reply, which was now come forth (as was noted before) against Whitgift's book, printed last year, gave high offence. Insomuch that the Queen issued out a proclamation against it, dated June 11, and for the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The tenor whereof was, "that the Queen, considering that notwithstanding by great "and mature deliberation of the wisest, a good and godly "order of public prayer and administration of the sacra-"ments had been set forth and allowed by Parliament, and "commonly through the whole realm, in all the time of "her Majesty's reign, received and used; yet some per-"sons of their own nature, unquietly disposed, desirous to "change, and therefore ready to find fault with all well-"established orders, did not only refrain from coming to "the church, where the divine service and common prayer "was orderly used, but also did use, of their own devices, "other rites and ceremonies than were by the laws of the "land received and used: and besides, that some of them "had rashly set forth, and by stealth imprinted certain "books, under the title of *An Admonition to the Parliament;* "and one other also in defence of the said Admonition; the "which books did tend to no other end, but to make divi-"sions and dissensions in the opinions of men, and to breed "talks and disputes against the common order: her High-"ness therefore, both to repress such insolent and inordi-"nate attempts of such as refused to come to common "prayer and divine service, according to the order estab-"lished by Parliament, to the evil and pernicious example "of others; and to keep her subjects in one uniform, godly, "and quiet order within her realms, and to avoid all con-"troversies, schisms, and dissensions that might arise; did "straitly charge and command all her faithful and true sub-"jects themselves, to keep, and to cause other such as were

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"under them to keep the order of common prayer, divine "service, and administration of the sacraments, according "as in the Book of Divine Service they were set forth; and "none other contrary or repugnant, upon pain of her Ma-"jesty's highest indignation, and of other pains in the said "act comprised.

The Admonition called in.

"And as concerning the said books, *viz.* The Admonition, "and all other books made for the defence of it, or agree-"able therewith, the book chiefly tending to depraving and "finding fault with the said Book of Common Prayer and "Administration of the Sacraments, and of the order re-"ceived here in this Church and commonwealth of England; "her Highness straitly charged all and every printer, sta-"tioner, bookbinder, merchant, and all other men, of what "quality or condition he or they were, who had in their "custody any of the said books, to bring in the same to the "Bishop of the diocese, or to one of her Highness's Privy "Council, within twenty days after he shall have notice of "this proclamation; and not to suffer any of them, without "licence or allowance of the said Bishop, upon pain of im-422 "prisonment, and her Highness's further displeasure.

"Given at her manor of Greenwich, the 11th of June, "1573, in the fifteenth year of her reign."

The Bishop of London moves for this proclamation.

The Bishop of London, among others, seems to have been a mover, or at least a hastener, of this proclamation. For being on St. George's day in the chamber of presence, he spake to the Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester, praying them, that order might be taken for the repressing of those slanderous and infamous libels, written and printed against the state ecclesiastical. For being so defaced and discredited, they [the Bishops] should, he said, never be able to serve to the good of the Church.

What little effect the proclamation had.

But what little success this proclamation had in London, and what favour Cartwright and his book found among the citizens, may appear hence, that after the twenty days, mentioned in the proclamation, were expired, there was not one book brought into the Bishop of London, though one need not doubt there were some thousands of them dispersed in

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the City, and other parts of his diocese. And this the said Bishop could not but take notice of to the Lord Treasurer; and withal he hardly thought, as he told the said Treasurer, that many were brought in to the Lords. Whence he made this inference, "What boldness and disobedience these new "writers had already wrought in the minds of the people, "and against the civil magistrate, whom in word they seem-"ed to extol, but whose authority in very deed they la-"boured to cast down: and that they saw little, that did "not perceive, how their whole proceedings tended to a "mere popularity."

The danger of the Church and State by these innovators.

It gave great grief to the Archbishop, and the other good Bishops, that these persons thus went off from the first establishment of the Protestant religion, making the English Book of Public Prayer, wherein the chief part of the reformation in this Church consisted, to be unlawful, and now no more to be used; and the ecclesiastical state, whereby this Church was governed, to be Antichristian: labouring that another discipline and order should be set up for the government of this our Church. All this the Archbishop and his brethren reckoned to tend indeed to the ruin of religion and learning too; and that this opposition of the ecclesiastical polity would greatly shake the civil also. For these things they saw tended to a popular state, the spoil of the patrimony of the Church, and confusion to the country.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbishop vindicates himself against Cartwright's accusations. His Court of Faculties. His charities and expenses.

Cartwright's book reflects upon the Archbishop.

BUT this said book of Cartwright's had some direct strokes against the Archbishop himself, which will detain us a little, *viz.* against his courts, and against his revenues. For it clamoured much against Archbishops, and against their fa-

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culties, and the dispensations issuing thence; and cried out largely, that so corrupt and Popish a court might be wholly discharged. This book urged also, how unsuitable great worldly incomes were to men whose function was spiritual, and that Archbishops and Bishops employed theirs only in retaining many idle servants, and in luxurious living. And that it were good that they were reduced to a more private condition, which was more agreeable to the Ministers of Christ. Many in the Queen's Court and elsewhere wondered that the Archbishop was so silent upon all these reflections, and that he made so little complaint as he did. This was signified to him by his fast friend, the Treasurer. But upon this the Archbishop drew up, first, a brief account of the Faculty Office, which yet he was not fond of at all; secondly, the reasons that he was not so forward to make his complaints; and thirdly, the vindication of himself in the expending of his revenues. Of all this he took some pains to write, for the instruction of the Treasurer, by way of private letter to him, that he might, as opportunity served, declare these matters to the Queen or others.

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Vindicates himself.

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But to be particular in a thing so materially relating to our good Prelate, to this tenor did the Archbishop handle these arguments:

I. As to the Faculty Office; "The Prince hath established "ed by Parliament the laws ecclesiastical, not repugnant "to the word of God, nor contrary to the laws of the "realm.

The Faculty Court.

"The Prince, by prerogative royal, hath supreme au- "thority, as well over persons as causes ecclesiastical. And "therefore hath authority in those cases, which by the ec- "clesiastical law were reserved to the Pope.

"The execution of law in these cases following are re- "ferred, not to the person of the Prince, but to the person "of the Archbishop of Canterbury; so authorized, not by "authority from Rome, but by authority of the high Court "of Parliament, *viz. excommunicare, suspendere, interdi- "cere, absolvere ab irregularitate, abolere infamiam.*

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"Of the number of those cases reserved, be those which "do pass by dispensation in her Highness's Court of "Faculties, which in manner are these now in use "only.

A commendam.

"A Bishop may not retain nor receive any ecclesiastical "living *in commendam*, but by dispensation. The tax is "16*l.*

A plurality.

"A dispensation for those which are qualified either by "the Prince, by noblemen, or by degree of school, to re-"ceive two benefices with cure. The tax whereof is by "authority of Parliament rated at 6*l.* 10*s.* And with this "clause, *Quod in uno beneficiorum tuorum pro arbitrio tuo* "*residendo, in alio residere minimè tenearis*, the tax is "7*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

A triality.

"A triality, to have two benefices with cure, and the "third to be a benefice, a prebend, or dignity, which hath "no cure; the tax whereof is 9*l.*

Quadrality.

"Quadralities, or *totquots*, we grant none.

Legitimatio.

"For him that is not born in lawful matrimony, to be "made *habilis ad ordines ecclesiasticos, et recipere benefi-*"*cium*, taxed at 4*l.*

Pro minore.

"To take a prebend, or a benefice without cure, is not "granted to any under the age of eighteen years. The "tax is 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Although by the book of taxations "such dispensations might be granted from ten years of "age, and so upward to a far greater gain.

De non promovendo ad ordines.

"For such persons as enjoy ecclesiastical livings, and are "occupied in the common affairs of the realm, as the Lord "Chancellor in Ireland, and Lord Ambassador; or in some "public office, as Dean of the Arches, or a Chancellor to "some Bishop, the tax is 4*l.*

De non-residendo.

"*Non-residence* is not granted to any but upon just "cause: which cause is expressed in his dispensation, *viz.* "for recovery of health, to avoid peril of loss of limb, or of "his life, to be occupied in some public calling, as teaching "a free-school, or for cause of study at either of the Uni-"versities, or attending upon some noble personage, &c. "The greatest tax is 53*s.* 4*d.*

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CHAP. XXV.

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"A *Perinde valere* is granted in cases of lack of dispensation, or when the former dispensation was insufficient, or when the party hath by some act incurred the ecclesiastical censures, or is made *inhabilis*, either *ad retinendum*, or *ad recipiendum beneficium ecclesiasticum*. The tax is 6*l*.

Perinde valere.

"None may be admitted to receive the orders of Deacon and Priest at one time, but by dispensation. The tax is 13*s*. 4*d*.

Ad utrosque ordines simul.

"To give leave to a Clerk to seek his Bishop to take Orders, the tax is 6*s*. 8*d*.

Literæ dimissoriæ.

"None may marry but in their own parish church, nor in times prohibited, nor without the banns be three several holydays proclaimed, but by dispensation, either from the Faculties, or from the Ordinary. Tax 10*s*.

Ad matrimonium.

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"None, without offending the laws, may eat flesh upon days forbidden, but by dispensation, either from the Faculty for ever, or from the Ordinary or Curate for time limited. The tax is 40*s*.

Ad esum carnis.

"The creation of Notaries Public. This dispensation is taxed at 13*s*. 4*d*.

Creatio Notariorum Publicorum.

"In all which dispensations the Archbishop referreth himself to the judgment of the Queen's Highness and her honourable Council."

The Archbishop's paper in behalf of this Court.

I meet with another paper of the Archbishop's, concerning the Faculties: which I will subjoin here, because I cannot tell the exact time and occasion of the writing of it. It seems to be upon some motion of Parliament, or from the Privy Council, to suppress that Court. It was as followeth:

Imperatores, Theod. et Valentinian. cod. l. dignæ, tit. de legib. &c. Sever. et Antoninus, Instit. lib. 2. tit. quid. modis testamenta infirmentur, §. ult.

The Emperor in lawe civil saith, *Digna vox majestate imperantis, se legibus obligatum profiteri. Et si legibus soluti sumus, tamen legibus vivimus.* So did King Henry the Eighth in the cawse of his mariage. So may any prince of this realm, though he be not tied by law or congruence thereunto.

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Item, For that owte of the Cowrte of Faculties sum revenues be belonginge to the Quene's Majestie, and partely for that the said Cowrte doth expresse sum partes of her prerogative; and for that the whole suppression of the same may make a verie great alteration in the positive lawes of the realme; it were well first to be considered of her Counsel before the dissolution.

An objection. It is dishonourable to the Quene, having supreme authority, to be dispensed withal by the Archbusshoppe, being a subject and inferior.

The answer. *Archiepiscopus Cranmerus erat Judex divortii inter Regem Henricum Octavum, et Reginam Katherinam. Tulit sententiam. Nec in eo quicquam derogatum est honori Regio. Nec absurdum est, aut honori dissonum, ut Episcopi et Presbyteri istas ecclesiasticas functiones etiam principibus et regibus exerceant.*

To dispense in cawses accustomed, is by the Quene and Parliament graunted and invested in the Church, and in the Archbisshoppe of Canterbury, and is made part of the revenue of his Bisshopricke, and taxed in the same. And the Archbusshoppe chargeable thereafter with first-fruits, tenths, subsidies, and other like ordinary charges. And, *sede vacante*, the same right is invested in the Dean and Chapter of Caunterburie.

Whosoe holdeth, that pluralitie of benefices be by God's laws forbidden, erreth; not considering that the distinctions of archbishopricks, bishopricks, dioceses, parishes, jurisdictions, &c. are not of the lawe of God, but of a positive law. For as bishopricks have chardge over manie parishes, so we see, that sum one benefice hath nine or ten chapels annexed, and is in lawe taken but for one benefice. And what more absurdity is it for one man to have two benefices, than to have one benefice with so many chappels annexed? I go on with the former paper of the Archbishop.

The Archbishop not forward to report Cartwright's tenets: and why.

"II. Why I am not readier to report the prudence and "policies of Mr. Cartwright in his book, these present "reasons move me:

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"*First*, I am a principal party, and an offendicle to him.

"*Secundo*, He is so well applauded to, that howsoever "he disliketh the act of throats-cutting, or of breaking "men's necks, he delighteth to apply both terms to Arch- "bishops and Bishops.

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P. 90. sect. 4.

P. 70. sect. 3.

"*Tertio*, He saith and affirmeth, that besides our names, "we have almost nothing common to those which have been "in elder times; of whom he saith some had not an half- "penny to bliss them with; and thinketh, that if our fat "morsels were employed to the maintenance of the poor, "of the Ministers, and on Universities, the heat of this dis- "putation and contention for Archbishops and Bishops "would be well cooled. And he is much offended with the "train they keep, and saith, that three parts of their ser- "vants are unprofitable to the filling of the Church and "commonwealth. And he is very angry with their furni- "ture of household.

P. 98. sect. 3.

P. 89. sect. 3.

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P. 97. sect. 1.

"*Quarto*, He thinketh no Archbishop to be needful in "these times, except he were well assured that he would "pronounce the truth of every question which shall arise. "And of this if he be assured, then it will make (his mas- "tership) to be more favourable to the Archbishops than pre- "sently he is. And saith, that the office of Commissioner "is not permitted by God's word to him.

P. 87. sect. 1.

P. 80. sect. 2.

P. 98. sect. 4.

"Sir, Because you be a principal Counsellor, I refer the "whole matter to her Majesty, and to your order. For "myself, I can as well be content to be a parish clerk as a "parish priest. I refer the standing or falling altogether "to your own considerations, whether her Majesty and you "will have any Archbishops or Bishops, or how you will "have them ordered.

"III. And because you may see in some private respect, "*quamvis in insipientia mea*, I must boast, although *tes-* "*timonium conscientiæ* were enough, to shew unto you pri- "vately, how the Archbishop of Canterbury spendeth the "living that her Majesty hath committed to his trust. If "other men could do better, I am pleased to be private."

The Archbishop's expenses yearly.

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T. Cartwr. p. 89, 98.

Expenses yearly by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

To the poor.	In certain yearly rent for two hospitals, 160*l.* Besides, other almose. Relief of prisoners. Decayed persons, &c.
To Ministers, &c.	In certain yearly stipends, 237*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Besides the relief of strangers learned, as others.
To Scholars and schools.	In foundation of six Scholars, 18*l.* Of two Fellows yearly for ever, 12*l.* Besides exhibition to Scholars of Cambridge and Oxenford, and founding of a grammar-school in Lancashire.
To repair churches and highways.	Reparations of thirteen chancels, of five mansion-houses, and certain fermes. Erecting of an highway in the University of Cambridge to the Schools.
Over and beyond.	Subsidies, free rents, new-year's-gifts, and other such resolutes - - - 400*l.* Annuities and fees - - - 400*ma.* Liveries 100*l.* Wages 250*l.* - 350*l.* Household fare - 1300*l.* or 1400*l.* Apparel, armoury, bedding, hangings, linen, plate, pewter, books, &c. physic, journeying, ferriage, carriage, suits in law, christenings, marriages, necessaries for offices, stable, with his furniture, arrearages, loss of rents, &c.

W. Turnour in his Hunting of the Wolf.

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CHAP. XXVI. 426

Dering, Reader of St. Paul's, suspended. The Bishop of London's favour to him. The Council sets him at liberty, without consulting the ecclesiastical Commissioners. Which the Archbishops and Bishops expostulate with the Council for. Seditious Preachers at St. Paul's Cross. Subscriptions laboured in the City to Cartwright's book. The Bishop of London's advice for a check to be sent to the French Ministers, and to the City, that favoured these men. The Bishop and Dering have words together. He is outed of his Lecture.

BUT to take a further prospect of the transactions in London this summer, as they relate to the *innovators*. Anno 1573.

Dering, who read lectures in St. Paul's, had been forbidden by the Privy Council to preach. During his suspension, the Bishop of London out of his good nature interceded with the Lord Treasurer for his liberty to read again, and that his Lordship would procure the consent of the Lords to release him, and to suffer him to proceed with his lecture as before; so that he taught sound doctrine, exhorted to virtue, dehorted from vice; and touching matter of order and policy, meddled not with them, but left them to the magistrate. And he believed, he said, Dering would be brought unto it. He thought these general dealings best for the present time, and would quiet many minds. He thought a soft plaster better than a corrosive to be applied in this sort. That this man would be spared, but well schooled. But this counsel towards this man, and at this time, the Lord Treasurer disliked, and sharply reproved the Bishop of London, who gave it. But however the Bishop got off Dering's suspension, and had him restored. And this without the advice of the Bishops, Commissioners, and notwithstanding Dering's favourable thoughts of Cartwright's book. For there had been several dangerous articles taken out of that book, propounded unto Dering for his answer,

Dering restored to his reading by the Bishop of London's means.

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BOOK IV. to try his judgment before they thought fit to restore him. And his answers proved to be such as looked very kindly towards the opinions therein: yet he found favour, and was allowed again to read and preach.

Anno 1573.

The issue.

But behold the issue and the reward! He and his party hereat triumphed unmeasurably in London; giving out, that her Majesty, and the whole Council, liked well of Dering, and of his assertions before set down; and that it was only the malicious proud Bishop that sought his trouble.

The Bishop of Ely argues with the Treasurer about it.

When the Lords had thus set Dering at liberty to read again, and that notwithstanding his open favouring of Cartwright's principles, the Archbishop, and several other Bishops, were much troubled. The Bishop of Ely wrote hereupon to the Lord Treasurer, disapproving of the Council's act in restoring him by their own authority, as a man sound in judgment, without consulting and advising with spiritual men; whose proper function and business it had been. And that they ought not to have determined of religion without the assistance of such as were professors of the same. For this favourable proceeding with Dering was upon an answer he gave to some articles that were offered him concerning Cartwright's book, as was said before. Which answers the Bishop of Ely said were fond and untrue; but the Council, on the other hand, seemed satisfied with those answers. And the Bishop affirmed, that they ought in these matters to have taken the judgment of Divines. And for proof hereof, he put the Lord Treasurer in mind of two authorities; the one of Arcadius and Honorius, the other of Bullinger, whom he styled, *Columna una in Ecclesia Christi;* i. e. "one of the pillars in Christ's Church." That of Arcadius and Honorius was this, *Quoties de religione agitur, Episcopos convenit agitare:* that is, "As often
427 "as the matter is concerning religion, it is convenient to call "upon the Bishops." That of Bullinger, *Sacerdotum proprium est officium, de religione ex verbo Dei constituere. Principum autem est, juvare Sacerdotes et provehere tuerique veram religionem:* that is, "It is the proper office of

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"Priests to determine concerning religion out of God's "word; and of princes, to assist the Priests, and to pro-"mote and defend true religion." And for this cause, added he, in all godly assemblies Priests have usually been called, as in Parliaments, in Privy Councils, especially when matters of religion have been treated of. And the said godly Bishop seemed inclinable in his zeal to move the Queen's Majesty in this matter. But he trusted the Lord Treasurer in his wisdom and godly zeal would do it.

The Bishop of London reproved by the Queen.

The Bishop of London was silent when Dering and three others were cited into the Star-chamber, and had favour. For this silence the Queen bitterly rebuked him afterward, when it was heard how Dering and his party had carried themselves upon his liberty.

Preachers at Paul's Cross inveigh against the Church.

At Paul's Cross also some preachers there were that openly spake their minds there in favour of the Puritan principles; and the ecclesiastical government was inveighed against. The Bishop of London nominated the preachers, but he was mistaken in the characters that were given of them, which was the reason they came to preach there by his order. And some there were of them whom he admitted to preach there, who the year before preached discreetly, but this year did labour, by railing, (to use his own words,) to feed the fancies of the people. Among these preachers was one Crick, Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, much commended unto the Bishop for learning and sobriety, who, in his sermon at the Cross, most spitefully inveighed against the ecclesiastical policy by law established, and confirmed Cartwright's book, as the true platform of the sincere and apostolical Church. For him did the Bishop of London, joined with the Archbishop, send a messenger; but he was conveyed away. But they had taken such order as he would shortly be met withal. Another of these Paul's Cross preachers was Mr. Wake, of Christ's Church, Oxon, who the year before this made a good sermon at the Cross, and so was sent for by the Bishop to preach again. Before he went to preach, he was conferred with by Dr. Walker and Dr. Hamond, the Bishop's Chan-

Crick one of these preachers.

Wake another.

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cellor, and required to have consideration of the present times. And for so much as her Majesty was in progress, and so absent from the city of London, that he would speak nothing that might turn to sedition. Whereunto he answered, Well, well. But being set on, and provoked thereunto, as Crick was before him, by such as were authors and maintainers of these new and seditious fancies, (I transcribe the Bishop of London's letter,) the whole sermon was consumed in railing against the present state: and he affirmed to be good, whatsoever Cartwright in writing had set down. On Monday, when the Bishop came to the City from Fulham, he was told of the sermon. Then sending a messenger for him, he was gone out of town in his way towards Oxford. This man, by reason of the privileges of his University, he could not meddle with. And therefore he referred him to the wisdom of the Lords of the Council to consider of. And for the preventing of such preaching at Paul's Cross for the future, he desired that the Lord Treasurer would procure him from the Queen such authority as some of his predecessors had; *viz.* in her name to require such as were fittest for that place to preach there, because such for the most part refused to come; and indeed hardly any could be got.

A conspiracy for subscription to Cartwright's book.

Some of Cartwright's faction were now hatching a conspiracy in London. Certain men of sundry callings were, as it were, in commission together to procure hands to his book; the parties subscribing to make profession to stand in the defence thereof unto death. This the Bishop of London having intelligence of, signified the same unto the Lord Treasruer. One to whom these persons came was Mr. Squire, Master of Balliol college, Oxford, and, I suppose, a preacher now in London, requiring his hand to the said book; who refused to give consent thereto.

Great resort of the citizens to Cartwright and some others.

Field, Wilcox, and some others, were the heads of that party; and the people resorted to them, as in Popery they were wont (they are the Bishop of London's words) to run on pilgrimage. Some Aldermen, and several wealthy citizens, gave them great and stout countenances, and per-

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suaded what they could that others should do the like. And Cartwright, though he skulked privately in the City, yet great was the application made to him especially.

The French Ministers approve them.

The French Ministers meddled in these matters. For Dering confessed to the Bishop, that he conferred with them touching the articles, before he delivered them to the Council, and had their consent. The Bishop advised, that a sharp letter should be sent from her Majesty and the Lords, to require them [the French Ministers] neither to meddle in matters of this state, neither to admit any of her Majesty's subjects to their communion; whither it seems some from their own parish churches resorted. And another sharp letter to be writ to the City, to admonish them against shewing countenance to these men. And moreover he advised, "that the chief authors of this sedition, who "were now esteemed as gods, should be removed far from "the City. If these idols, said he, who are honoured for "saints, and greatly enriched with gifts, were removed "from hence, their honour would fall into the dust. They "would be taken for blocks as they are. And lastly, he "advised for redress of the City, that a commission should "be sent to the Mayor and Aldermen, to search out these "matters. And that Dr. Wylson, Master of St. Katharine's, "would be a very fit man in this commission. And then "he earnestly begged the Lord Treasurer, and the other "Lords, to put to their helping hand. That for his part he "would do what he could; not in respect of his own state, "whereof he was, he said, very weary, but in respect of "that Church of Christ which was most dear unto him. "But he was too weak: yea, if all of his calling were joined "together, they were too weak. Their estimation was "little, their authority less. They were become contempt-"ible in the eyes of the basest sort of people." Thus did that Bishop complain.

The Bishop of London's advice concerning the City.

Contest between Dering and the Bishop.

Between Dering and the Bishop of London, after he had procured him to read his lecture again, as was shewed before, there happened some contest. For when Dering came to the Bishop to tell him that the Council had by

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their letters restored him; adding, that he never thought he should be kept long from it; for that the whole Council favoured him, except the Lord Treasurer; the Bishop desired to see his letters. He answered, they were at home. [Indeed the Council gave him no letters.] The Bishop said, he would see them, or he should not read; and added, that except he read more soberly and discreetly than he had done, he would forbid him reading in Paul's. Dering replied, If you do forbid me, I think that I shall obey, lest some disordered fellows bid you come off your horse, when you shall ride down Cheapside, [boasting of his popularity.] But the Bishop in some heat answered, Your threatenings shall not terrify me. For I will forthwith ride down Cheapside, to try what your disordered scholars will do.

Dering put by his lecture in Paul's.

Dering being, as you see, of an hot spirit, was not long after silenced a second time. Which was done upon the Bishop's complaint to the Lord Treasurer and Council against him, and upon his desire expressed to the said Treasurer, that Dering still standing against the established Church, he would get an order to be sent from the Queen, to forbid him to read his lectures any more. The Bishop had told the said Lord, how he had in his church opposed and spoken against the orders of the Church. Whereupon the Treasurer declared, that if any Bishop of any church shall understand, that any public reader in his church doth oppugn the common order of the Ministry in the Church established by law, it is his duty, upon good knowledge thereof, to remove him. The Bishop also writ both to the Lord Treasurer and Earl of Leicester, concerning his dislike of Dering's continuance. And they at length acquainted the Queen therewith: who thereupon commanded the Treasurer to charge the Bishop to remove him. And so she commanded him to notify to her Council. A warrant for this purpose was sent to the Bishop to disallow Dering from reading. Which was accordingly done by the Bishop: and he desired to know, whether he should place another in his room.

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CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1573.

The Bishop misreported to the Treasurer by Dering.

Dering about this time had carried a falsehood to the Lord Treasurer concerning the Bishop. Which created the poor Bishop some trouble before he could be well reconciled to that Lord again. For Dering brought a report to the Lord Treasurer's ears, that he and the Bishop being together, and arguing concerning his being outed of his lectureship, the Bishop, to draw the *odium* from himself, 429 and to lay it somewhere else, charged the matter wholly upon the Lord Treasurer. This the Treasurer took in ill part from the Bishop, as though he should in an open presence tell Mr. Dering, that he knew no other cause to displace him, but that my Lord Treasurer willed him so to do: and that otherwise he had no matter to charge him withal. Upon this the Treasurer wrote an expostulatory letter to the Bishop. To which the Bishop made answer, denying it utterly, that he had said any such word of his Lordship. And "that, upon the faith of a Christian, there "never passed such word privately or publicly between "Dering and him, neither yet any others. But that it was "Dering's custom to lie." It was his common fault, and commonly noted of him: and these are some of the transactions between the Bishop and Dering, and of the unhappy church contentions in London.

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CHAP. XXVII.

Aldrich, Master of Bene't college, contends with the Archbishop. His ingratitude. Labours, in spite of the Archbishop, to get a dispensation, contrary to the statutes. The Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners send for Aldrich. But the college refer their cause to the Chancellor. The Archbishop argues with him hereupon. His remarks upon Aldrich's letter. His advice to the Chancellor for trying this college affair. Aldrich's prebend. The Chancellor reproves him. He resigns his mastership. And submits to the Archbishop.

The Archbishop affronted by Aldrich, Master of Bene't college.

AND as the Bishop of London was thus dealt withal by one of these disaffected ones; so (to return to our Archbishop) was he exercised about the very same time with another. For now appeared one of these Puritans upon the stage in open opposition, to affront him, and to put such a mask upon him, as that he might appear to be in disgrace with the Queen. For they had given out, that he was out of all credit and favour. There was one Mr. Aldrich, for whom our Archbishop but a few years past had laboured to procure the mastership of Bene't college, (his own house, where he had been brought up, and for the welfare of which he had a singular care,) though in his discommendation the Lord Treasurer, upon some information, had wrote to the Archbishop. But however, the Archbishop got him the said mastership, and made him his own Chaplain, and shewed great kindness likewise to his brother, Fellow of the same house. But Aldrich fell in with the Puritans, and became one of the heads of them in Cambridge. A great upholder he was of Cartwright; and he refused to take the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, which he was bound to do by the college statutes, within three years after his election to the mastership. For the Puritans of those times disliked and scrupled University degrees. Whereupon, and for other grievous complaints made against him for his evil government, the Archbishop advised him to be gone

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quietly, and make his friends to favour the President of the college, the oldest therein, to have him chosen; as he himself, and all the Fellows in the house, had resigned up their whole interest, by their subscription, for his interpretation of their statutes. And the said Aldrich had divers times writ to him, and spoken to him, that he would do any thing that the Archbishop should move him in that 430 matter. But his mind was much altered now. He had renounced to be Chaplain to him any longer; and said, he would stand utterly against him. And his friends were come up, in the month of June, to get her Majesty's letter of dispensation, in a case of perjury, *viz.* that he might continue Master of the college, notwithstanding his oath, whereby he was bound by the statutes, as aforesaid. And they were to sue to some great man of the Council, to accept him as Chaplain, to outface the Archbishop, and to beard his authority; nicknaming him withal *Pope of Lambeth*, and *of Bene't college*. It was the Earl of Leicester, or Sir Ralph Sadleir, from whom they aimed to obtain a qualification for him, to outweigh the Archbishop, and to deface him.

Applies to the Queen and the Treasurer against him.

The Archbishop had moved Aldrich to consider of his duty to the realm, and to the Queen and the Church; to reclaim him from his principles, if he could: but all in vain. This matter, he saw, touched sore upon his reputation, as well as upon the Church: therefore he thought it highly necessary to use his utmost endeavour to resist this design against him. And so wrote his letters to the Lord Treasurer and the Queen. "He let the former know the "plot laid against him: he let him know what an honest "meaning he had towards that college, and how he had fa-"voured the Master thereof. He doubted not, God would "allow his sincere meaning, however he was requited un-"kindly, never meaning one penny commodity to himself, "or to any of his." In his letter to the Queen he told her, "she saw the case how it laid: that he trusted in her "singular prudence and wisdom, that this inconvenience "might be prevented: that his singular hope, next to God,

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"was in her Majesty; as his endeavour should be always "to serve her Highness, and to pray for her, as in many "respects he was bound. And that if her Majesty knew "that whole matter, as it was, he trusted she would not "suffer such a scholar, or his friends, to triumph over her "Chaplain, to the confounding of her governance."

Bene't college refuse the ecclesiastical commission.

This his seasonable application to the Queen stopped Aldrich and his friend's design in procuring a dispensation from her. And beginning to distrust their own strength, he, in July, with five Fellows of the house beside, refer the hearing of his and the college's causes to their Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer Burghley. Though in February before, he and all the Fellows by their subscriptions committed the same to the Archbishop, and acknowledged him most fit to interpret that statute concerning the Master's continuance; which was one of the occasions of the great disturbance and faction that then was in that college: and so the best to decide the controversy. And indeed the Archbishop himself told the Lord Treasurer, that he did know more than the whole University did beside in those matters: he meant in reference to the college causes. But their minds were now changed; and to avoid perhaps the ecclesiastical Commissioners, they referred all to their Chancellor. For the Archbishop had chosen rather to determine Bene't college causes as a Commissioner, and jointly with them, than singly by himself, not as a Commissioner. But this bringing a college cause before the commission, the University was very jealous of, as fearing it should hurt their privileges. For the preventing therefore of those fears, he and the Commissioners sent their letter to the Vice-Chancellor, dated July the 5th, letting him know, "that although their commission in causes ecclesiastical "did sufficiently authorize them to deal with any of her "Majesty's subjects, and to call them before them, as well "in places exempt as not exempt, as they had aforetime "used to do; and at that day did, as well by the said "commission, as also by appointment of the Queen's Coun-"cil, as of late they had done for some Fellows and Scho-

The Commissioners letter to the Vice-Chancellor, to send up Aldrich.

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"lars of the University of Oxon: and as they had done "beforetime, as well there as in the University of Cam-"bridge. Whereby they doubted not they had rooted out "some corrupt members, that else were like to have trou-"bled the whole state. Yet because they being for the "more part sometime of this University, and zealous to "the same, for precedent sake, had thought it good to "write first unto them, requiring and commanding them, in "the Queen's Majesty's name, to send up unto them one "Thomas Aldrich, Master of Arts in Corpus Christi col-"lege; and to have him bound with good sureties to make "his personal appearance before them, and other their col-431 "leagues at Lambeth, immediately upon the receipt of "their letters. He to answer to such objections as should "be propounded to him; and not to depart without spe-"cial licence thereunto." Dated from Lambeth, and subscribed by the Archbishop, the Bishop of Winchester, William Fleetwood, and R. Wendesly.

The college refer their case to the Chancellor.

Soon after this letter, that they might the more easily decline the danger of disobeying the Commissioners, Aldrich, and five Fellows with him, in a Latin epistle, did wholly commit the college controversy to their Chancellor, as was above said. This epistle he sent to the Archbishop to peruse, together with another letter sent from the Vice-Chancellor at the same time; who reckoned the meddling of these Commissioners in Bene't college affairs an infringement of their privileges, and declaring how much they confided in their Chancellor for preserving to them their liberties. As to the letters of the Vice-Chancellor, the Archbishop having read them, told the Chancellor, "that their "privileges he never intended to hurt. But that when "this jurisdiction [of the ecclesiastical commission] was so "daintily looked on, he feared it would turn to the hurt, "both of the whole University, and especially to the utter "undoing of that poor college: that the Lords of the "Council committed but lately the hearing of the matter "concerning some of St. John's college in Oxenford to "them, although in Oxenford they had then an ecclesi-

The Archbishop's discourse with the Chancellor thereupon.

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"astical commission beside. That he wished things were "so reformed, that they might tend to the quiet govern- "ment of the realm; otherwise he did not much care, as "he said, for any jurisdiction." This he wrote in July the 25th. And in another, dated seven days before that, "he "perceived, he said, by those letters, that they had their "whole trust in his Honour, as much caring for their liber- "ties. Which in good faith, said he, I would were pre- "served as gladly as any of them all would. But though "his [the Chancellor's] authority were then worthily to be "regarded, yet he feared a President would rise after him, "that should not be able to do as he could. He thought "her Majesty's commission might stand, and help their "privileges. He did not care who had the hearing of the "controversy, so the college were saved, and lewd and "monstrous governance escaped not away unreformed; "finally, saying it was but slight, and their cloak to shroud "them in, [against deserved punishment,] to claim other "men's hearings."

His observation upon Aldrich's letter to the Chancellor.

And as to the letter of Aldrich, and the Fellows, he said, he had read it, calling it *childish*, and that he perceived in it but homely invention. But the chief matter he took notice of in it, which indeed made some unhandsome reflection upon him and the Commissioners, was this passage: *Unum est quod subveremur, ne, indicta causa, cujusquam authoritati cedere cogatur veritas.* Whence he observed, that they insinuated, that their authority by commission might, *indicta causa*, bear over a truth: "as though, "said he, we have not to consider in this world our up- "right dealing, and forget that we be subject to talks of "those Precisians at Cambridge. He observed likewise, "that some of those five Fellows, that signed the letter "with the Master, had, and at present did live, of the "Archbishop's purse daily; and yet, saith he, craftiness "can pervert their senses. And that though there were "five Fellows subscribed the letter, yet there were seven "against him. As for Aldrich himself, his interest was but "small among the Heads, having but one only for him. He

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"charged him with great insolency, childish maliciousness, "in telling a great many vain tales of the Fellows that "were against him; ingratitude to the Archbishop, and "manifest precisianship."

Methods by him propounded to the Chancellor for trying this cause.

And perceiving that the Chancellor had thoughts of taking the matter under his own cognizance, they having referred themselves to him, our Archbishop desired that he might be present at the hearing of their controversy. And though he were just upon going to Canterbury, to make preparations for the Queen, that was taking her progress that way this summer, yet he would tarry one week longer, to do good to his *old nurse*, as he called that college. He understood there were many more controversies than the doubt of one statute. He wished the Vice-Chancellor and one more of the Heads were with them, in the Chancel- 432 lor's name, to hear the matter debated. His insolency, he said, [meaning Aldrich's,] would soon appear. Or, he propounded, that the Dean of Westminster and himself should, before the Vice-Chancellor and another Head, hear the matter, and report it to his Honour. And that Mr. Aldrich, and one other of his faction, might come up with him; the President of the house, and one more of the Fellows against him, might also come up to prosecute their complaints. He told the Chancellor, it were meet it were ended, for it was a mere factious matter, and would continue the Precisians and all others at variance. He also propounded to the Chancellor another way of dealing with them, namely, by visiting them; by the virtue of a former commission from the Queen for visiting the University and colleges thereof; which was not yet revoked. In which commission, he, the Chancellor, the Archbishop, Sir Anthony Cook, the Bishop of Winchester, and others, were their visitors. He and Dr. May, first of all in King Edward's days, in a visitation, did conciliate the old statutes, and reformed them. And then in the Queen's days, Cecyl, their Chancellor, Cook, Winchester, Haddon, and our Archbishop, subscribed to a reformation, or supply again of these statutes, and put to the Queen's seal. This the

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Archbishop said to the Chancellor, to this intent, signifying that they, the same visitors, by virtue of the same power, might examine and reform them again.

Aldrich resigns his prebend.

Aldrich had a prebend in Westminster church. Wherein he was guilty of great negligence, either in nonresidence, or refusal of complying with the ecclesiastical habits. Insomuch that the Archbishop said he was ashamed of him, having been the great instrument of procuring it for him. Aldrich had resigned this prebend half a year before into the Queen's hands, whether by the Archbishop's desire, or for some other reason, I know not. The resignation still remained with the Archbishop. Now, in July, he recommended Mr. John Still, [his Chaplain,] Bachelor in Divinity, to the Lord Treasurer, to procure it for him. Who was, he said, both wise, discreet, and learned, and of good credit in London. He was afterwards Master of Trinity college in Cambridge. But he was resolved, seeing his behaviour, whosoever had it, Aldrich should never have it again. Neither did he, I believe, ever endeavour for it, knowing his own inconformity. And Still succeeded.

Dr. Still.

The Chancellor deliberates how to proceed.

But the Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of that University, being a very deliberate wary man, after he had heard what the Archbishop on one hand, and the other University party on the other, said, hesitated what to do, doubting whether this matter lay properly before the Queen's Commissioners; and whether such matters as were to be objected against Aldrich, both temporal as well as spiritual, for causes of religion, might be heard by those Commissioners, by prerogative of the Queen's Majesty, or else by authority metropolitical; and the college having by their own desires referred the interpretation of the college statutes to the Archbishop; which he the said Aldrich after declined; or whether all and singular these matters were to be heard by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, and only within the University. He was also in suspense, whether it were convenient the Archbishop should be present, when he himself heard the cause. And all this he signified by letter to the Archbishop. The resolution he gave to these

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The Archbishop gives his judgment.

doubts was this: "That for the University privileges, he "would be as glad to maintain them, as any one of them. "And the Archbishop was now in suspense himself, whether he should come or no, in case the Chancellor desired "it. But he would gladly attend upon him, if no prejudice or hurt to their commission might grow in yielding "to them of the University more than was needful. His "judgment was, that the present Master should be deprived, unless he would voluntarily resign his room."

The issue of this business.

In fine, the Chancellor took the decision of this business upon himself; and Aldrich being before him, he told him how unworthily and ingratefully he had dealt with the Archbishop, who had been so good and kind unto him. And that he should therefore go to him, who was then at his house near Canterbury, and declare his sorrow for what he had done, and beg his pardon. And Aldrich, seeing there was no other way, resigned, to avoid the disgrace of being deprived. And then he travailed with the Chancellor's letters, and brought them to the Archbishop: wherein the Chancellor told him the sum of what he had done, and 433 particularly for vindicating his Grace's honour and credit. Whereat the Archbishop thanked him, in that he had such regard of his estimation in that cause, wherein, he said, it was wonderful, as he had heard say, how that fond young man had dealt. After this, he remained about Canterbury some time, expecting some favour from the Archbishop, and promising amendment of his courses. But the Archbishop said, he could not tell how to take him, or believe him; and that the burnt child dreaded the fire. Upon the decision the Chancellor had made, the President, Robert Norgate, (to whom the Archbishop was uncle,) and four or five Fellows more, returned their thanks to him in a letter for his great care and patience, in determining their matters so equally and wisely. But not one of the five of Aldrich's party subscribed their names thereunto. Norgate was soon after elected Master of the college.

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BOOK IV.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

A notable letter of the Archbishop, and Bishop of London, concerning the Puritans. A protestation by them to be taken. The Archbishop vindicates the title of Lord Bishop. A dangerous new sect in Ely diocese. The Bishop of London moves the Archbishop and Lord Treasurer for a national Council.

LET us further prosecute the story of these discontented men, as it fell out this summer. What troubles the Bishops conceived for these factions, and what good resolutions nevertheless they took, to do what in them lay, may be seen by a notable letter, written in July by the Archbishop, and the Bishop of London, to some other absent Bishop in commission, giving him account of these matters. It was as followeth:

A letter concerning the Church's danger by false brethren. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"*Sal. in Christo.*

"These times are troublesome. The Church is sore assaulted; but not so much of open enemies, who can less hurt, as of pretended favourers, and false brethren, who, under the colour of reformation, seek the ruin and subversion both of learning and religion. Neither do they only cut down the ecclesiastical state, but also give a great push at the civil policy. Their colour is sincerity under the countenance of simplicity; but in very truth they are ambitious spirits, and can abide no superiority. Their fancies are favoured of some of great calling, who seek to gain by other men's losses. And most plausible are these new devices to a great number of the people, who labour to live in all liberty. But the one, blinded with the desire of getting, see not their own fall, which no doubt will follow: the other, hunting for alteration, pull upon their necks intolerable servitude. For these fantastical spirits, which labour to reign in men's consciences, will, if they may bring their purposes to pass, lay a heavy yoke upon their necks.

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"In the platform set down by these new builders, we "evidently see the spoliation of the patrimony of Christ, "and a popular state to be sought. The end will be ruin to "religion, and confusion to our country. And that you "may the better perceive how these fancies are embraced, "and like to take effect, except in time they be met withal, "here inclosed we have sent unto you certain articles taken "out of Cartwright's book, by the Council propounded "unto Mr. Dering, with his answers to the same; and also "a copy of the Council's letter writ to Mr. Dering, to re-"store him to his former reading and preaching, his an-"swer notwithstanding, our advices never required there-434
"unto. These proceedings puff them up with pride, make "the people hate us, and magnify them with great tri-"umphing, that her Majesty and the Privy Council have "good liking of this new building. Which hitherto, as we "think, in no Christian nation hath found any foundation "upon the earth, but is now framed upon suppositions, full "of absurdities and impossibilities, in the air. We are per-"suaded that her Majesty hath no liking thereof, howso-"ever the matter be favoured by others.

"But for so much as God hath placed us to be gover-"nors in his Church, hath committed unto us a care and "charge thereof, and will one day require a reckoning at "our hands for the same; it shall be our duties to la-"bour, by all means we can, to see sound doctrine main-"tained; gainsayers of the truth repressed, good order set "down and observed; that the Spouse of Christ, so dearly "redeemed, may by our ministry be beautified. These pe-"rilous times require our painful travails; and seeing that "God's cause is brought into question, and the Church "many ways troubled, we must with good courage stand "to the defence thereof, and resist the underminers. We "here bear a heavy burden, and incur many dangers and "displeasures. But nothing shall be grievous unto us, if "we may do good to his Church. We doubt not but that "you are like affected, and bear a burden in mind with us.

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BOOK IV.

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"We have made a special choice of you, whom for good "learning, prudent counsel, and godly zeal, we love and "reverence, and have thought it good to put you in re-"membrance of these matters, and withal to require you to "consider of these things, and to be prepared for our next "meeting, which we think will be shortly, to see unto the "same, as may most tend to the glory of God, good of his "Church, maintenance of his Gospel, establishing of decent "and good order; to the edifying of his people, and to "the repressing of all gainsayers. Thus thinking it conve-"nient, that you should keep these matters secret to your-"self, we commend you to the good direction of God's "Holy Spirit. From Lambeth, July 6, 1573.

"Your loving brethren,

"Mat. Cantuar.

"Edw. London."

Some Bishops associate at Lambeth.

By this letter it is plain, that the Archbishop, and certain other Bishops in commission, did at appointed times diligently associate together, and had their meetings at Lambeth, for this end and purpose, that they might seriously confer and hold consultation among themselves for the good estate of the Church, according to the exigencies of it; and now especially, for the preventing the endeavours of these underminers of the present ecclesiastic government. And these were the Archbishop, the Bishops of London, Ely, Winton, Guest of Rochester, and Jewel of Sarum, while he lived, and Goodman, Dean of Westminster, and some others. And being now minded fully to inform another Bishop of their society absent, (perhaps Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln,) of the imminent danger of Cartwright and his party's principles, they wrote to him the letter abovesaid, and to remind him of a meeting shortly to be held by them, that he might bethink and prepare himself for it.

The protestation taken by the Puritans.

And that we may see it was not without reason the Bishops had these consultations, and were thus full of per-

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plexities, what would become of the Church and nation, by reason of these innovators, as they were called, I will lay before the reader a protestation that was to be taken by them when they were admitted into the congregation. Which kind of *congregations* were now framed into more formal separation.

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1573.

A Protestation of the Puritans. 435

"Being thorough persuaded in my conscience by the "working and by the word of the Almighty, that these "relics of Antichrist be abominable before the Lord our "God; and also, for that by the power, mercy, strength, "and goodness of the Lord our God only, I am escaped "from the filthiness and pollution of these detestable tra-"ditions, through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour "Jesus Christ; and last of all, inasmuch as by the working "also of the Lord Jesus his Holy Spirit, I have joined, in "prayer and hearing God's word, with those that have not "yielded to this idolatrous trash, notwithstanding the danger "for not coming to my parish church, &c. therefore I come "not back again to the preaching, &c. of them that have "received these marks of the Romish beast. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

"I. Because of God's commandment to go forward to "perfection. Heb. vi. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Psalm lxxxiv. 1. "Eph. iv. 15. Also to avoid them. Rom. xvi. 17. Eph. v. 11. "1 Thes. v. 22.

"II. Because they are abomination before the Lord our "God. Deut. vii. 25, 26. and xiii. 17. Ezek. xiv. 6.

"III. I will not beautify with my presence those filthy "rags, which bring the heavenly word of the Eternal our "Lord God into bondage, subjection, and slavery.

"IV. Because I would not communicate with other "men's sins. John ii. 9, 10, 11. 2 Cor. vi. 17. *Touch no* "*unclean thing, &c.* Sirach xiii. 1.

"V. They give offences, both the preacher and the "hearers. Rom. xvi. 17. Luke xvii. 1.

"VI. They glad and strengthen the Papists in their

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"errors, and grieve the godly. Ezek. xiii. 21, 22. Note "this 21st verse.

"VII. They do persecute our Saviour Jesus Christ in "his members. Acts ix. 4, 5. 2 Cor. i. 5. Also they reject "and despise our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Luke x. "16. Moreover, those labourers, who, at the prayer of the "faithful, the Lord hath sent forth into his harvest, they "refuse, and also reject. Matt. ix. 38.

"VIII. These Popish garments are now become very "idols indeed, because they are exalted above the word of "the Almighty.

"IX. I come not to them, because they should be "ashamed, and so leave their idolatrous garments, &c. "2 Thess. iii. 14. *If any man obey not our sayings, note "him.*

"Moreover, I have now joined myself to the Church "of Christ. Wherein I have yielded myself subject to the "discipline of God's word, as I promised at my baptism. "Which, if I should now again forsake, and join myself "with their traditions, I should forsake the union, wherein "I am knit to the body of Christ, and join myself to the "discipline of Antichrist. For in the church of the tradi-"tioners, there is no other discipline than that which hath "been maintained by the Antichristian Pope of Rome; "whereby the Church of God hath always been afflicted, "and is until this day. For the which cause I refuse "them.

"God give us grace still to strive in suffering under the "cross, that the blessed word of our God may only rule, "and have the highest place to cast down strong holds, to "destroy or overthrow policy, or imaginations, and every "high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God; "and to bring into captivity or subjection every thought "to the obedience of Christ, &c. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. That the "name and word of the Eternal, our Lord God, may be "exalted or magnified above all things. Psalm viii. 2. "*Finis.*

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"*To this protestation the congregation singularly did* "*swear, and after took the Communion for ratification of* "*their assent.*" This last paragraph is writ by Archbishop Parker's own hand.

To which they swore and took the Sacrament.

Besides this establishment of private separate congregations, they had thus far advanced their platform more publicly, that even in parishes the Disciplinarians had planted Ministers. They spake against the ordination of Ministers called by Bishops, but would have them to be called by their parishes. And Cartwright to Dr. Whitgift spake of places in England where the Ministers, as he said, were called by their parishes. To which Whitgift makes this answer, "That if any parish in England did elect or call "their Ministers otherwise than the orders and laws of this "Church did permit, he could not see how that parish "could excuse itself of schism: and he thought verily that "such parishes ought to be looked to in time."

Some parishes call their Ministers.

These men were especially angry with the Bishops, and their order, because they were the chief opposers of their new discipline, and preservers of King Edward's reformation. And therefore they did what they could to pull up this hierarchy by the roots, asserting it to be Antichristian, and utterly unlawful to be exercised in a Christian Church. And especially they clamoured much against the Bishops being called *lords*. For justification of this title, the Archbishop, in a letter to his friend the Lord Burghley, thus wrote:

These men great enemies to the order of Bishops.

"They are marvellously offended that Bishops are called "*lords*, and *honourable*, and think that those high titles are "usurped against God's word, because Christ, answering to "the contentious ambition of the Apostles, said, Luke xxii. "*The kings of nations are* lords *over them*, &c. *but ye* "*not so.* Now if he be called *lord* which hath the rule "and government over his own house; if he be called *lord*, "which hath the order over any people or flock, as Joseph "was called *lord*, governing the Egyptians under the King; "if a poor man, letting his ground or house but for five "shillings a year, is usually called *land-lord*, (where-

The Archbishop vindicates the title of Lord Bishop. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

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"upon Deans, Parsons, and such like, are commonly called "*lords* of all their tenants,) what offence is it, if Bishops, "having lands and lordships, be called *lords?* More mar- "vel it is, that men cannot abide that they should be called "*honourable*. St. Paul seemeth not to be so precise; *Let* "*the elders*, saith he, *that govern well, be counted worthy* "*double* honour. Now if it please the King or Queen of "the realm so to esteem of Bishops for their learning, know- "ledge, and virtue, and to take them among their Lords, "and count them honourable, and to place them to counsel "in Parliament, or otherwise; it is not to be thought that "any offence is committed against God's blessed word, so "long as the Bishops contend not for the same *ambitiously.* "Which fault our Saviour Christ reproved in his Apostles: "and also, so long as the Bishops contain themselves within "their lists, that is, in due obedience and subjection to the "high and temporal magistrate: and finally, for that in "these days, neither Bishop nor Archbishop take upon him "to rule as a king or a prince, or doth usurp the authority "of a king, or taketh upon him tyrannical dominion over "his Clergy and people committed to his government, as "the Antichristian Bishop of Rome most blasphemously "doth attempt.

"Aaron the Priest was appointed by God, with Moses, "for the government of God's people, and was counted "in authority not far under Moses. God commanded that "kings, for their better government, should peruse the "book called *Deuteronomium;* which they should receive of "the Priests; who were thought to be had in great reve- "rence and authority, for that they were the keepers of "such mysteries. The prophets no doubt were in great "authority, and well esteemed with kings and with the "people; as Nathan with King David; Elias with King "Ahab; Esaias with King Ezekias, and other prophets, "with the tribe of Judah, and with the ten tribes. Elisha "was highly esteemed with Naaman of Syria. How ho- "nourably did Constantine the Great use the godly Bishops "in the Council of Nice. How honourably did Theodosius

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"the Emperor use Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, though "he seemed to use the Emperor too severely? But ye will "say, ye read not that any of these were called *lords*. I "say, if for their virtues and uprightness in their office, 437 "due reverence, authority, and honour were given unto "them."—*The rest is wanting*. Thus accurately and excellently did the Archbishop plead for and justify the honour of his order.

Bishop of London vindicates them against the clamour of seeking their own wealth.

They cried out loudly also against the Bishops, as persons that only sought their own wealth and prosperity, and not the flock's. Which occasioned the Bishop of London to use these words to the Lord Treasurer;

"I lament with your Lordship, from the bottom of my "heart, that such as should be feeders of the flock only "feed themselves, and turn teaching into commanding, *sua* "*quærentes, et non quæ sunt Jesu Christi*. Such I wish to "be removed, and more faithful pastors in their rooms "placed. The unworthy Minister is to be touched, but "not the worthy office to be taken away. *Episcopatum* "*ejus accipiat alter*."

A dangerous sect in Ely diocese.

The Archbishop and other wise men were still the more apprehensive of the danger of these sectaries, by reason of another sort of men newly sprung up, as it were under their shadow, who shewed themselves in Ely diocese. Their opinions the Lord North, living in those parts, declared, and brought up, and laid before the ecclesiastical commission, as I suppose.

Their doctrines. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

"*First*, They maintain and defend, that it is not lawful "by the word of God to take any kind of oath, for any "cause, before any person: abusing the place of Matthew "the fifth, *Swear not at all, &c.*

"*Item*, They defend, that it is not lawful for any Ma-"gistrate to put a malefactor to death: abusing the com-"mandment of God, *Thou shalt not kill*.

"*Item*, They defend and teach, that all things ought to "be common, and no propriety among men: miserably "wresting the place in the second of the Acts, where it is

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"written, *All those that believed were together, and had all* "*things common.*

"*Item*, They teach, that every man may, without lawful "calling, leap into the Church of God, and, as his furious "brain moveth him, preach and interpret. Whose voice all "men are bound to hear, as well as the Ministers of God.

"*Item*, They agree with the Papists in defending that "vain opinion of the *limbo*, or slumbering place of the soul "departed, until the general resurrection.

"*Item*, They deny the authority of the Old Testament, "and the Epistles of St. Paul, when they in disputation are "urged with arguments and conclusions out of them.

"*Item*, Many of them consent with the Arians in the "horrible heresy of the inequality of the Persons in the "Godhead.

"*Item*, They say, there is no other hell than that which "every man carrieth about with him: which allegorically, "they say, is nothing else but such motions and perturba-"tions as draw men from the Commandments.

"*Item*, The most part of them are degenerate into the "filthy and brutish sect of the *Libertines;* whose errors are "so foolish, stinking, and pestilent, that any man having but "natural understanding would detest them, and marvel at "them.

"*Item*, They meet in privy conventicles, with the doors "shut upon them: intromitting no man but him that will "join with them in their mysteries, as they call them. "Their preacher is some one of their company; a private "man called and moved, as is above said."

The Bishop of London advises for a national Council.

For the regulation of these disorders and false doctrines, the Bishop of London judged a national Council would greatly conduce: and he had moved it often to the Archbishop of Canterbury. And so did the Lord Treasurer hold it expedient for the pacifying of the people, that began hugely to run with these men. Concerning this affair, thus did the said Bishop write to the said Lord. "The Convo-"cation of the Clergy, to convince or reject these new mys-

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"teries, is well minded of your Lordship. It is the thing "that I have sundry times remembered, and oftentimes de-"sired. For otherwise the people can hardly be satisfied. "I humbly pray your Lordship to be a means unto her 438 "Majesty, that a national council may be called; wherein "these matters now in question may be thoroughly debated: "and that concluded, and by her Majesty confirmed, which "may most tend to the true serving of God, and the good "ordering of this Church of England. If your Lordship "travel herein, you shall travel in God's cause, and for the "quiet of his Church; and the sooner the better. For it "is time to cut off these troubles. I have earnestly moved "the Archbishop of Canterbury in this matter."

CHAP. XXIX.

Dangerous Popish designs upon the kingdom. Sandys, Bishop of London, defamed in print.

Popish princes combine to invade England.

WHILE this Church was thus exercised by the Puritans, the Papists on the other hand were as busy to overthrow it, and the kingdom too. For which purpose a plot was this summer carrying on by the foreign princes addicted to the Papacy, to invade England. And first the King of Poland, under pretence of preparing a navy for Poland, was therewith suddenly to seize some port in England. And at the same time the Scots, persuaded by the Cardinal of Lorain, were to break into England with a very great army, made up of French and Scots. And then on another side, the navy of the Spaniards and that of the French together were to seize another haven of the kingdom. At which time Duke D'Alva, with the aid of the Bishop of Colen, and other Bishops, and the Duke of Bavaria with ten thousand foot, intended on the side of Flanders to wage war with the Queen. And for the carrying on this war the more successfully, the Pope, the King of Spain, the aforesaid Bishops, and all the Popish states of France were now con-

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sulting together. And the Cardinal of Lorain intending the kingdom for his niece the Queen of Scots, of which he was very confident, promised for one year to provide pay for thirty thousand men. As soon as the nation was thus invaded, great numbers of Roman Catholics, the Queen's subjects in England, were to rise. All this was signified in discourse, at the Baths of Aquisgrane [Aix] by an English Lord, to a certain French Lord there, named De la Tour. Who being a Protestant, and sensible of the great kindness the English nation shewed to his countrymen, in harbouring them after the late massacre, privately, in August, related all this to Sir William Bromfeld, an English officer, then at the Spa; of whose faithfulness to the Queen he was well assured. And the said Bromfeld wrote these advertisements, and conveyed into England the said writing, with his own hand subscribed, together with De la Tour and one Bocharts also, who was present at the relation. This writing I have preserved in the Appendix.

N°. XCI.

Bishop Sandys foully and falsely aspersed.

But to return home again. Good Bishop Sandys, of whom so much before, about autumn met with somewhat that made so close an assault upon his credit and estimation, that it sensibly touched him. He had acted somewhat diligently this summer against the Puritans, according to the Queen's command; and their principles he vigorously opposed; which made them much displeased with him. Therefore, many invectives were writ against him: and particularly a book was now printed, which, as it made reflections upon the ecclesiastical state, so it laid foul aspersions upon him, (but very false,) to the blotting of his good name, and the endangering of his credit and reputation in his ministry: which gave him great trouble and disquiet. And whatsoever he did, it was watched; all his doings were searched out, sifted, and misconstrued, as he complained to the Lord Treasurer; and that he had spies upon him every where.

439 Desires to be vindicated by the

But concerning this defamation in print, he advised who the printer was, and who his aiders and abettors. He shewed himself very desirous to have his innocency cleared;

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Anno 1573. Council or Star-chamber.

and that these slanderers (whom he knew) might not be brought before the ecclesiastical commission; for that would look as though he were judge in his own cause; but before the temporal Magistrate, the Council, or the Star-chamber. Urging that the matter being merely temporal, it was fittest for temporal men to deal in; and that it was not convenient that men of his calling should deal with matters of conspiracy. And that if the printer of that seditious book was most justly to be corrected, the defender of the errors contained therein was not worthy to find favour. For this he earnestly requested the Lord Treasurer; and his suit, he said, seemed so reasonable, that he trusted his Lordship would easily grant it. "For I only seek," as he proceeded, "that my ministry may be profitable to the "Church of Christ. I can in conscience no longer serve, "than I may do good. If you think my service necessary, "I trust that you will be a mean to preserve my credit "with the people, which is already so much touched, not "by my desert, but through the slanderous speech of the "evil-minded." This was writ September 19. And ten days before this was the Bishop soliciting the Treasurer for the same justice. For having wiped off this calumniation, whatever it were, to that Lord's full satisfaction, he beseeched him to have so much respect to his honesty, as to call the party to trial; that the impudency of the one, and the innocency of the other, might appear. "These new masters," added he, "are *spiritus mendaces. Gladius est in labiis "eorum. Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et "a lingua dolosa.* I may not to put up this great wrong, "but clear myself of it for my office sake, and burden the "teller with this impudent untruth."

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BOOK IV.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbishop at Canterbury; sends MSS. of Kent to the Lord Treasurer; entertains the Queen there. The order and solemnity thereof. His own relation of it. A Popish libel against the Lord Treasurer. His letter to the Archbishop about it. And the Archbishop's answer.

Anno 1573. The Archbishop goes down to Canterbury.

BUT leaving the Puritans a while, let us attend our Archbishop into his diocese: where he was to act in two great capacities, *viz.* to be the Queen's host, and his church's visitor. For the Queen, being this summer in her progress in Kent, came to see Canterbury: where he gave her a most splendid and solemn entertainment, both at his church and at his table. Which he did with so much magnificence, and withal with so much order and decency, that he merited extraordinary praise, and gave high satisfaction to her and all her nobles. The manner of which we shall more particularly relate by and by.

Sends certain MSS. of Kent to the Treasurer.

In the month of July, the Archbishop sent to the Treasurer sundry MS. treatises and collections of his own, as was said before, giving account of the tract of the county, and of the antiquities of divers places therein. That the Queen, who would be inquisitive concerning the places where she journeyed, might have the more satisfaction given her by her said Treasurer, who was near her person, and whom she looked upon as a man of special learning and knowledge of the history and antiquities of her kingdom, and so would be most apt to put her questions to him. The Archbishop had privately sent him before Lambard's Topographical Discourse of Kent in MS. which might now stand him in good stead for this purpose. Now, in this month, he sent him also a copy of that author's intended preface
440 to the said book, dedicated to Mr. Thomas Wotton, a gentleman of that county, of great quality and wealth; and the rather, because to his house the Queen in her intended progress was to come: praying the Treasurer not to be

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known to the said Wotton that he had the said preface. One of the treatises the Archbishop had communicated to the Treasurer was a Discourse of Dover, telling his Lordship, that he knew not whether he had it before or no; but in such points, he said, he had rather be too busy than too slow, in participating his trifles. This book of Dover the Lord Treasurer perused, and found errors and faults, occasioned probably by the copiers. And therefore sent it back to the Archbishop, who caused it to be examined again, and reformed, and then returned. The last part whereof was *De Warda Castri*, &c. Which part the Archbishop extracted out of an ancient MS.

Anno 1573.

The book of Dover.

But the Archbishop's chief care was to give an entertainment to her Majesty at his house, when she should come to Canterbury, that might answer his own figure, and obtain a gracious acceptation from her. She intended to begin her progress in the middle of July. And the Archbishop accordingly was preparing to remove a little before, to get his house and all other things in a readiness: his wine and beer, and other provisions, were already appointed and sent to Canterbury. But in this nick the Lord Cobham came out of Kent, Lord Lieutenant of that county, if I mistake not, and Constable of Dover castle, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; who signified, that the *measles* and the *small pox* reigned then at Canterbury, and the *plague* at Sandwich. This caused some stop of the Queen, and made the Archbishop stay the rest of his carriages. For as in fifteen years it should rejoice him, as he told the Lord Treasurer, to see her Majesty at his house at Canterbury, the cost whereof he weighed not; so he would be loath to have her person put in fear or danger.

Prepares for the reception of the Queen at Canterbury.

But tarrying till the latter end of this month, when the weather proved very cold and wet, she set forward. The 13th day of August I find his Grace at Bekesborn, full of thoughts for his ordering of his reception of the Queen; and having considered how his predecessors had entertained some of the princes of the land, in that manner he deter-

The order he designed for the reception.

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mined to regulate himself. But he first sent to the Lord Treasurer for his advice: telling him, "that he would do "all the service he could to the Queen's Majesty and to "all her nobles, with the rest of her most honourable "household. But that he had no other counsel to follow, "but to search out what service his predecessors had been "wont to do. That his oft distemperance and infirmity of "body had made him not to do so much as he would. That "he had convenient room for her Majesty, if she would "please to remain in his house. And he could place for a "progress time his Lordship, the Lord Chamberlain, who "was Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Leicester, or Mr. Hatton, "Master of the Horse; thinking their Lordships would "furnish the places with their own stuff. And whereas "they said, that his house was of an ill air, hanging upon "the church, having no prospect to look on the people; "yet he trusted, he said, the convenience of the building "would serve. That if her Highness were minded to keep "in her own palace at St. Austin's, then their Lordships "might be otherwise placed in the houses of the Dean and "certain Prebendaries. That as for his Lordship, several "Prebendaries strove for him; as Mr. Lawes would fain "have him in his convenient house, trusting the rather to "do his Lordship now service, as he did once in teaching a "grammar-school in Stamford by his appointment. Mr. "Bungay, another, desired to have his Lordship in his lodg-"ing, where the French Cardinal lay; and his house was "fair and sufficient. A third, who laboured to have his "company, was one Peerson, who had a fine house, and "most fit for him, if he so thought good." I find one Andrew Peerson, which, I suppose, was this Prebendary, in the year 1563, the Archbishop's Almoner, and resided with him. The custom had been, as he told the Lord Treasurer, that when princes came to Canterbury, the Bishop, the Dean, and the Chapter, waited at the west end of their church, and so attended on them, there to hear an oration. And thus he intended it should be now.

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His device for the Queen.

After that, her Highness, he said, might go under a canopy till she came to the midst of the church, where certain prayers should be said. And after that they should wait on her Highness through the quire up to the traverse, next to the communion table, to hear the evensong. And so after to depart to her own lodging. Or else upon Sunday following, if it were her pleasure, to come from her house at St. Austin's by the new bridge, and so to enter the west end of the church, or in her coach by the street.

Moves for her receiving the Communion.

He signified to the Lord Treasurer, how it would much rejoice and establish the people there in their religion, to see her Highness that Sunday, being the first Sunday in the month, when others also accustomably might receive, as a godly devout Prince, in her chief and metropolitical church, openly to receive the Communion: which by her favour, he said, he would minister unto her. And then the good Archbishop added, *Plurima sunt magnifica, et utilia, sed hoc unum est necessarium.* But he presumed not, he said, to prescribe this to her Highness, but, as her trusty Chaplain, shewed his judgment. And after that Communion, it might please her Majesty to hear the Dean preach, sitting either in her traverse, or else to suffer him to go to the common chapel, being the place of sermons, where a greater multitude might hear. And yet her Highness, he said, might go to a very fit place, with some of her lords and ladies, to be there in a convenient closet above the heads of the people, to hear the sermon. After that, he desired to see her Highness at her and his house for the dinner following. And if her Highness would give him leave, he would keep his bigger hall that day for the nobles and the rest of her train. And if it pleased her, she might come in through the gallery, and see the disposition of the hall in dinner-time, at a window opening thereinto.

Writes to the Lord Chamberlain about the matter.

He wrote also to the Earl of Sussex, as being Lord Chamberlain, in some of these matters which might concern his office. But it being, it seems, so tender a matter to consult with more courtiers than one in the same thing, he thought fit to acquaint the Lord Treasurer therewith,

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and prayed him not to be offended, though he did so. He was now also preparing some geldings for three or four lords, and desired to know of the Treasurer, whether would like him best, either one for his own saddle, or a fine little white gelding for his foot-cloth, or for one of his gentlemen or yeomen, and he would so appoint it. With the letters containing all this, he sent the Dean of the church, Dr. Godwyn, to the said Lord Treasurer, on purpose to have his counsel and instructions in the above-mentioned matters.

The entertainment very magnificent. Stow. Hollins. Camd. Hist. of Q. Elizabeth.

Our historians relate in general, that this entertainment was exceeding great and noble. Camden adds, that it luckily happened on the seventh day of September, the Queen's birthday, and that there were as many noblemen guests present, as had been feasted in the same palace when the Emperor Charles and Henry VIII. were present, which was in the year 1510, when Warham was Archbishop, about fifty-two years before. A relation of this Kentish progress, and of this magnificent reception at Canterbury, is set down in the first edition of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, as was hinted before.

The Bishop's own account of the Queen's reception at Cant. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

But to know more of this, as where the Archbishop first met her Majesty in the county, and what reception she had when she came first to Canterbury; take the Archbishop's own relation in a letter to Grindall, Archbishop of York. "I met her Highness as she was coming to Dover, upon "Folkston Down. The which I rather did, with all my "men, to shew my duty to her, and mine affection to the "shire, who likewise there met her. And I left her at Dover, "and came home to Bekesborn that night: and after that "went to Canterbury to receive her Majesty there: which "I did, with the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, and "my Suffragan, at the west door. Where, after the gram-"marian had made his oration to her upon her horseback, "she alighted. We then kneeled down, and said the Psalm "*Deus misereatur*, in English, with certain other Collects "briefly; and that in our chimers and rochets. The quire, "with the Dean and Prebendaries, stood on either side of the "church, and brought her Majesty up with a square song,

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"she going under a canopy, borne by four of her temporal "knights, to her traverse placed by the communion board: "where she heard evensong, and after departed to her "lodging at St. Austin's, whither I waited upon her. From "thence I brought certain of the Council, and divers of "the Court, to my house to supper, and gave them fourteen "or fifteen dishes, furnished with two mess, at my long 442 "table; whereat sat about twenty. And in the same "chamber, a third mess, at a square table, whereat sat "ten or twelve. My less hall having three long tables well "furnished with my officers, and with the guard, and others "of the Court. And so her Majesty came every Sunday "to church to hear the sermon; and upon one Monday it "pleased her Highness to dine in my great hall thoroughly "furnished with the Council, Frenchmen, ladies, gentle-"men, and the Mayor of the town with his brethren, &c. "Her Highness sitting in the midst, having two French "ambassadors at one end of the table, and four ladies of "honour at the other end. And so three mess were served "by her nobility at washing, her gentlemen and guard "bringing her dishes, &c. Because your Grace desireth "to know some part of mine order, I write the more largely "unto you."

The Archbishop of York's reflection thereon.

Whereat the Archbishop of York made this reflection in his answer: "Your Grace's large description of the enter-"tainment at Canterbury did so lively set forth the matter, "that in reading thereof, I almost thought myself to be one "of your guests there, and as it were beholding the whole "order of all things done there. Sir, I think it shall be "hard for any of our coat to do the like for one hundred "years, [meaning, perhaps, during their long leases,] and "how long after, God knoweth."

A libel against the Lord Burghley.

While the Court was here at Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, in the midst of his feasting, met with sour sauce with it. It was a most venomous book, wrote by some Papist against him and the Lord Keeper: which, yet, was not the first of many that he had felt the malice of. But it grieved much this good man, and made him almost weary of his

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life, after his painful service and honest heart to the realm and to the Queen, to be so continually slandered and back-bitten. This book he sends to the Archbishop from one of the Prebend's lodgings to peruse, with a letter which ran to this tenor:

His letter to the Archbishop. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

"*May it please your Grace,*

"You shall see how dangerously I serve in this state, and "how my Lord Keeper also, in my respect, is with me "beaten with a viperous generation of traitorous Papists; "and I fear of some domestic hidden scorpion. If God "and our consciences were not our defence and conso-"lation against these pestilential darts, we might well be "weary of our lives. I pray your Grace read the book, or "so much as you list, as soon as you may; and then return "it surely to me; so as also I may know your opinion there-"of. When your Grace hath done with this, I have also a "second smaller, appointed to follow this; as though we "were not killed with the first; and therefore a new assault "is given. But I will rest myself upon the Psalmist's "verse, *Expecto Dominum, viriliter age, et confortetur cor "tuum, et sustine Dominum.* From my lodgings at Mr. "Person's, 11. Sept. 1573.

"Your Grace's at commandment,

"W. Burghley."

The Archbishop's answer.

To which the Archbishop, returning the book, gave answer, describing the malice of it, and, like a true friend and a grave Divine, comforted the good Lord Treasurer in these words:

"Sir,

MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

"I return to your Lordship your mad book again. It "is so outrageously penned, that malice made him blind. "I judge it not worth an answer. Some things were bet-"ter put up in silence than much stirred in. Your consci-"ence shall be your testimony to Almighty God. It is no "new matter for such as take pains for the good governance

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"of the commonwealth to be railed on. In my opinion "they be very comfortable words which be uttered by our "Saviour Christ, who once shall be our Judge, *Beati estis* "*cum probra jecerint in vos homines, et dixerint omne* "*malum adversus vos mentientes, et propter me. Gaudete* "*et exultate: sic enim persecuti sunt Prophetas qui fue-* "*runt ante vos.* In these and like words I for myself 443 "repose my heart in quietness: beseeching Almighty "God with his Holy Spirit to comfort your mind in these "blasts of these devilish scorpions. *Conscia mens recti* "*mendacium videt*, &c. From my house at Canterbury, "11. Sept. 1573.

"Your assured in Christ,

"M. C."

CHAP. XXXI.

The Archbishop visits his church. Gives orders and injunctions. Observations thereon. Returns to Lambeth. His observation on his visitation. Visits Eastbridge hospital. And returns the state thereof into the Exchequer.

The power of the Archbishop by the statutes. Cap. 39. De Visit. Eccl. N. Battely.

AFTER the Archbishop's feasting was over, he proceeded to visit the church of Canterbury, by a visitation metropolitical and ordinary, as it was said to be, and so termed, in the injunctions now given the said church. For the foundation statutes of Christ's Church, made by King Henry VIII. do appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being, Visitor of his said church, with power, beside other things, to examine into the state of the church, how the several members thereof have performed their duties, to decide all differences, if any should arise, between the Dean and Canons, or among the Canons themselves, and to interpret and declare the meaning and intent of any statute, or any clause of any statute then in force; and do prohibit the Dean and Canons to receive any new statutes, under pain of perjury and perpetual deprivation: yet re-

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serving to the King's Majesty, and his successors, full power and authority to alter any of the present, or to make any new statutes, as they please.

The oath taken by the Dean and Prebendaries. Archbishop Parker's Reg.

By virtue hereof, Archbishop Parker held his metropolitical and ordinary visitation here: beginning it in person September 23. The form of the oath then administered to the Dean and Prebendaries was this: "You shall swear, "that, to the uttermost of your knowledge or belief, you shall "make diligent and mindful inquisition of all and every "thing that in your judgment is any ways to be reformed "in this church, or in any the members or foundation of "the same, or in any other person or persons, any ways "commorant within the precincts of the same church, in "doctrine, manners, regiment, or any kind of office, duty, "or obedience: and that you shall thereof make a true and "faithful particular presentment in this visitation to my "Lord his Grace of Canterbury, your visitor here pre-"sent. And shall also make direct and true answer to "every matter or article, that during this visitation, or con-"cerning the same, you shall be examined upon. And fur-"thermore, you shall present whether the injunctions given "in my Lord his Grace's last visitation of the said church, "anno 1570, be duly observed or not; and in what points "they are not observed. And this as much as in you lieth "you shall perform. So help you God, by Jesus Christ."

Clerk and Ackworth take presentments.

The Archbishop committed the managing of this visitation under him, to Dr. Bartholomew Clerk, Official of the Court of the Arches, London, and to Dr. George Ackworth, to receive the presentments and informations given by the Ministers of his church.

The progress of the visitation.

Sept. 26. the Archbishop visited again in person: and then having some discourse with the Dean and Prebendaries, he demanded of them at length, all and singular, whether they believed the said statutes concerning the foundation of the said church did bind them, so as they were bound inviolably to observe them. All the Prebendaries answered affirmatively, excepting the Dean and Dr. Peerson, who denied that the statutes bound any otherwise, than by virtue

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of their oaths in the time of their respective admissions they were bound to the observation of them. Thomas Willoughby, the oldest Prebendary, had been suspended, whether for absence, or something else, I know not: but September 27. praying to be absolved, he received it from Clerk and Ackworth. By the answers given in by the Dean and Prebendaries to the articles of inquiry, it seems, that some of them had not been present at any sermon or lecture in the church, since the last visitation. They had still remaining a great many old copes, which were to be disposed of as the Archbishop thought best. Defects there were in the distribution of the almsmoney. Presentment was made likewise concerning the stock of the church in private men's hands: concerning the decay of the stock of the church: concerning decay of obedience to the Dean: concerning a slander raised against his Grace. There were matters presented relating more especially to the Dean. As that he had consumed the church goods: which yet he denied. That he had broken the statutes. That he made away the copes of the church: which he confessed, because it had been agreed by the Chapter, that all the copes should be made away, and that he had two of them, and paid fifteen pounds for the same. Concerning his embezzling the stock of the church, he said, the church was in better state than when he came to it. He was charged also, that he did not pay the Ministers their wages in due time: which he denied also. And concerning his disagreeing with the Prebendaries. To which he answered, that Mr. Bullen, one of the Prebendaries, threatened him, "to nail him to the "wall with his sword." Which made him complain to the Justices of peace for his safeguard. It seems there was great quarrel between the Dean and Bullen, a hasty man; as appears, in that he was informed against, that he swore oaths; which he confessed upon provocation he did. He also struck one King a blow on the ear; and another time he offered to strike Dr. Rushe, who escaped from him; and another time he struck another in the chapter-house, and a lawyer.

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Mr. Bullen.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1573. The declaration of Articles to be read by the lay-vicars and Petty Canons. Annal. Reform. ch. xvii.

Order was given at this visitation, that the lay-vicars should read on particular days appointed them, after the first Lesson, the Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, set forth by the order of both the Archbishops and the rest of the Bishops, for the unity of doctrine, to be taught and holden of all Parsons, Vicars, &c. And the Petty Canons also were appointed to read the same Declaration one after another on the Sundays successively: what this Declaration was, may be seen in the Annals of the Reformation.

Injunctions given to the church.

The Archbishop's occasions called him to London before he had finished his visitation, but he left a certain book of injunctions in Latin for his church, being sixteen in number, suiting to the occasions and defects of the church and members: which were solemnly read before him in the chapter-house. The heads of which were, 1. For the observation of the statutes. 2. For the interpretation of the statutes and these injunctions. 3. That no leases be made in great concerns, unless in general Chapters. 4. That possessions be reserved for the tables of the Dean, the Prebendaries, and the common hall. 5. That dividends of fines be forbid, without the consent of the Archbishop. 6. Of making up accounts each quarter of the year. 7. Of rescinding and annulling Chapter decrees from the end of May, anno 1573. 8. Of punishing such as absented from the common prayers. 9. That the greater Canons celebrate divine service on the greater festivals. 10. That the election of the Petty Canons, &c. by reason of discords, do cease, &c. 11. Of correcting the scholars. 12. Of exacting accounts of the officers of the common hall. 13. Of the forbidding to substitute officers. 14. Of stopping up new gates and other passages. 15. Of making contribution for the poor. 16. That there be a Reader of Divinity constituted. These injunctions may be seen at length in the Appendix.

N°. XCII.

Observations upon the injunctions. N. Battely.

Now to make a few observations upon these injunctions, and to shew upon what good reason the Archbishop gave them. Which observations are not mine, but my late learned friend, N. B.

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In the first injunction the Archbishop granted a dispensation for the non-observance of such statutes as were repugnant to the word of God and the statutes of the realm. And in the statutes of the church given by King Henry VIII. some clauses there were repugnant to the word of God and the laws of the realm. Of which these were some. In the statute *De Celebratione Divinorum* it is ordained, that the King's scholars should attend daily, *et dum sacra mysteria in summa peraguntur, corporis Domini elevationi adesse, ibique morari, quoad cantus Agnus Dei.* Also, that on the day of the death of the King yearly, *exequiæ et missa celebrentur pro anima nostra.* Also in the statute *De Precibus in Ecclesia nostra dicendis*, they were daily to say this prayer, *Præsta quæsumus, &c. pro animabus pientissimi patris nostri Henrici VII. matris nostræ Elizabethæ et clarissimæ nuper conjugis Joannæ, hæ orationes dicantur.* And in the statute *Preces Pauperum*, the beadsmen were to say every day, morning, noon, and even, *Salutationem Angelicam.* Also, the six preachers were required to be present, *Missæ summæ*, i. e. at high Mass. And it was part of the Sacrist's duty, *ut ægrotorum confessiones audiat.* Such clauses as these, being contrary to some acts of Parliament made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and her brother, King Edward, the Archbishop did interpret and declare null and void.

The reason of the second injunction appears from itself.

The reason of the third was to prevent frauds and tricks, which at the smaller Chapters might be imposed upon some that should happen to be then absent. Therefore the seventh injunction did make void and disannul all decrees and orders concerning granting of leases, and setting and dividing of fines made after the end of May. And that there was good cause for this stop, appears by the register of the church. Whence it was observed, that four and twenty decrees were made about leases and fines, (a bigger number than usual,) at a Chapter begun June 25, at the general audit. The fines were generally divided between the Dean and the Prebendaries; and but a small proportion

Regist. Decan. et Capit. Cant.

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BOOK IV. (and that but sometimes) allotted to the church chest. For example,

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	£	s.	d.
The sum total of all the fines set, as they are recorded - - - -	750	0	4
Of this there was voted for the common chest no more than - - - -	26	10	0
For the Dean and Prebendaries -	723	10	4

Besides these, there were granted other leases, to the number of eleven; which are mentioned in the register, but the fines were not agreed upon. And all these could not but amount also to a great sum. These were the decrees and orders made by the Dean and Chapter, which the Archbishop did cancel and make void by one of his injunctions. And whereas at that time the common chest of the church was very poor, the Dean and Prebendaries were very far from enriching it; as appears by the foresaid account. This also the more moved the Archbishop to evacuate their covetous decrees. Therefore,

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh injunctions, were to promote the public benefit of the church, and to enrich the common chest. And they refer to the statute called, *Dimissio terrarum et tenementorum ad firmam.* Which chiefly provides against the granting of leases before the term be fully expired, and against the granting of any leases, or the commencing any law-suit, or the like, by the Dean, or any of the Prebendaries, without the consent of the Chapter. Also, that all things be acted for the benefit, and not for the damage of the church, with this clause added, *Pinguescere enim ecclesiam nostram optamus, non macrescere.*

The penalties of those that were absent from divine service, (which is the matter of the eighth injunction,) by the statutes of King Henry VIII. were otherwise, *viz. Quisquis minorum Canonicorum abfuerit a majore missa, aut a matutinis, perdet denarium. Quisquis a vespertinis aut completorio abfuerit, perdet obolum. Quisquis a prima, tertia, sexta vel nona abfuerit, perdet quadrantem.* This shews the reason of the eighth injunction.

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The ninth injunction enforceth only a clause in the statutes in these words; *Volumus, ut omnibus festis principalibus Decanus, majoribus autem duplicibus Vicedecanus, (cæteris vero festis duplicibus, reliqui Canonici suo ordine in divinis officiis celebrandis) executor erit.*

The scholars mentioned in the eleventh injunction were 446 fifty poor children taught in the grammar-school belonging to the said church; who have every one of them four pound a year towards their maintenance; and are called *the King's scholars.*

The common hall, in the twelfth injunction, was for the Minor Canons, Schoolmasters, Scholars, Vergers, and other inferior officers of the church; who either had their diet in the common hall, or were to be allowed a stated sum of money in lieu of their diet: which is done at this day, the common hall, and officers belonging to it, being laid aside.

Little more is to be observed concerning the rest of the injunctions, unless that the fourteenth is this day very much broken, there being many doors and private inlets into the precincts of the church.

Besides these injunctions, the Archbishop gave them more admonitions by word of mouth; and lastly, sent them others in five articles, under his great seal.

The Archbishop returns to Lambeth.

Soon after the Archbishop was come home to Lambeth, which was towards the end of October, he wrote to the Treasurer a letter, dated November 3. Whereby we may understand what the Archbishop had observed at his being at Canterbury, keeping his visitation in that church. For he told him, "that he saw high time by injunctions to "prevent evil. And that he saw high time too for her Ma-"jesty to procure the safety of such foundations, by send-"ing them new statutes under her seal, which that church "and others yet wanted," [the old Popish ones still remaining in force, and the members thereof holding themselves bound to the observance of them, as some of the Canons of his church confessed to him.] But for his church of Canterbury he had already devised and prepared wholesome statutes: which, he said, he would offer, if they should

His observations upon his late visitation.

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not hang too long in hand there at Court: knowing by experience what delay and discouragement such matters of the Church usually there met with, occasioned by some enemies to him and religion. But for ought appears to me, King Henry's statutes remained to the church, till Archbishop Laud procured others from King Charles I. Another thing that he observed at that his visitation was, that, both there and otherwhere, he had noted by experience partly, and partly by report, that her Majesty's needful ecclesiastical commission was foully abused, and ought to be redressed. By which words, I suppose, he aimed at some in this commission, who, instead of rectifying the neglect of discipline, and the irregularities among the clergy and laity, did rather wink at and favour them; and at others, who made a base gain thereof, by receiving bribes. And then the Archbishop added, by way of apology for what he had said to the Lord Treasurer, to whom he wrote this, and prayed him not to think amiss of his meaning, which to him secretly he thus disclosed, using a proverb common with him, *All is not gold that glisters*, [glancing at some of the Commissioners.] This complaint of the foul abuse of the ecclesiastical commissions, which were sent into the countries, he also found at Norwich. With which he acquainted the Treasurer not long after this; telling him, that, if it were not reformed by a new commission, [that so unfitting and mercenary men might be left out,] it would work inconvenience. Papistry was the chief matter wherein these Commissioners were to deal; and yet the clamorous cry, as he said, of some needy wives and husbands, did compel them at Lambeth to take the matter out of their common bribing courts, to ease their griefs by the commission. The lesser spiritual courts were here intended by the Archbishop also.

Abuse of commissions ecclesiastical.

The Archbishop's certificate of Eastbridge hospital.

But before the Archbishop's return, and while he was at Canterbury, visiting his church, he also made a visitation of Eastbridge hospital. And this especially in obedience to the Queen's command. For April the 17th last past, she sent letters to the Archbishop, *De certiorand. pro hospi-*

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tali East Bridge, &c. to certify to the Barons of the Exchequer concerning the state of this hospital. So, soon after his coming home, *viz.* November the 9th, he returned an ample certificate to the said Barons concerning this hospital. Which is extant in the Archbishop's register. Therein he certified, that Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded the hospital of Eastbridge, Cant. for the reception and sustentation of poor strangers, and such as came to Canterbury. And that afterwards John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, made an ordination concerning the disposition of the goods of the said hospital, bearing date September 23, 1342. Which was, among other things, that in the said hospital there should be twelve competent beds, with the pertinences, for the reception of the poor, and especially travellers, and those that flocked thither, as well the well as the sick: and that there should be four pence daily distributed out of the goods of the said hospital, according to the number of each day in the year, for the necessary uses of these poor, and the helps of their living. And that there should be always a woman here of forty years old, or above, in the hospital. Which should have competent food and clothing from the goods of the hospital; who should minister to the said poor, and look to the beds. And these things were duly and faithfully observed, until the 20th day of May, 1569.

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Archbishop Parker's Reg. fol. 77.

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And the said John Stratford reserved to himself and his successors, Archbishops of Canterbury, a plenary power to add to, take away, change, and correct his ordinance, as should seem best to them. Therefore we, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, for certain reasonable causes moving us, concerning and upon the disposition of the goods of the said hospital for the time to come, made a certain ordinance, bearing date May 20, 1569, and signed with our and the Dean and Chapter's seal of Christ's church, Cant. as followeth, *viz.* That in the time of peace, every Friday throughout the year, thirty poor people dwelling within the city of Canterbury should be relieved out of the goods of

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the said hospital with thirty pence. And that in the said hospital there should be twelve competent beds, with their pertinences, for the use of the poor soldiers flocking thither in time of war. For whose use in the time of war, according to the value of four pence for every day in the year, expense was to be made out of and from the said sum of thirty pence, the said distribution in time of war ceasing. And that twenty poor children, above the age of seven years, and under eighteen, be taught in the said hospital to read, sing, and write, *gratis*. And further, that out of the rents of the said hospital be yearly paid, for the sustentation of two scholars in Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, the sum of six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. All which things were faithfully done, according to the ordinance retained in the hands of the master of the said hospital.

CHAP. XXXII.

A continuation of the visitation of his church and diocese. Answers to the Injunctions. The church's present to their Archbishop. Orders for Apparitors. Regulates the Arches.

The visitation continues by commission: Parker's Register.

For the church.

BUT we must not leave the visitation thus. For though the Archbishop was gone home, yet the visitation went forward. For being returned to Lambeth, he gave out a commission, dated thence, November 29, 1573, to Dr. Bartholomew Clerk, (whom for this purpose he had constituted and named his Chancellor,) to visit his church, and to inquire diligently how they observed and fulfilled the abovesaid articles, because he himself was necessarily obliged upon urgent business to be absent, as it ran in the commission. Another commission also is registered, dated nine days after, *viz.* November 29, to Dr. Clerk, and Dr. Ackworth, joined with him, to visit the city and diocese. A commission also came from the Archbishop to the Suffragan of Do-

And diocese.

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ver, the Official of the Arches, [Dr. Clerk,] and others, to visit the diocese. But they were to certify the proceedings to the Archbishop or his Vicar General.

448 The records of the visitation.

In the Archbishop's register here is added a memorandum, shewing the Archbishop's great exactness in his doings. Which was this, that all the rest of the records of this visitation, as well of the cathedral church as of the whole diocese, were by my Lord's Grace's commandment delivered to Mr. Aldridge, Register of the Court of Canterbury, to be kept among the records of his office, for the ease of the subjects of his diocese, that should have occasion to search for any things contained therein.

I shall now proceed to shew some things done by the church of Canterbury, with relation to their late visitation. The Dean and Chapter gave in their answer to the injunctions mentioned before. Which was to this tenor:

The Dean and Chapter's answer to the injunctions. Parker's Register.

"*Imprimis*, To the injunctions delivered unto us under "your Grace's seal, in the time of the said visitation.

"To the first injunction, and to the first part thereof, "touching the observation of the statutes set forth, as it is "alleged by our Founder, we answer; that we do observe "the same so far forth, as they be not prejudicial, or "against the letters patents of incorporation and dotation, "given to us from our said Founder, and that otherwise we "do obey them, as good orders and rules, tending to the "preservation of unity, reformation of manners and ex-"cesses, and for the better maintenance of the state of our "church. And to the second part, touching the procure-"ment of dispensations, we answer, that sithence the re-"ceipt of the said injunctions, hitherto there hath been "nothing done to the contrary, that doth appear unto us. "Although there be some of the Chapter who do protest, "and think not convenient to observe that part of the in-"junction; neither yet that they are by law tied there-"unto.

"To the second and third, we say they be, and shall be, "observed henceforth.

"To the fourth, we answer, that there hath been no-

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"thing done to the contrary thereof, and that we have not "neglected to pass any demise or lease, worthy to be termed "*detestable*" [as the Archbishop had called them in his injunction] "to our knowledges."

"To the fifth, we answer, that as there hath not been, "nor at this time is, any contention stirring up among us, "touching the demise of any lease, or division of any fines, "which by the statutes ought to be laid up in the common "chest; so do we mean to use those matters as hospitality "may be maintained, and the state of the church, from "time to time, well preserved.

"To the sixth, we answer, that as we have presently be-"gun to put the injunction in practice and use, [of calling "the Receiver or Treasurer to account quarterly,] so we "are determined henceforth to perform the same, as a "thing very requisite and necessary.

"To the seventh, [concerning annulling grants and de-"mises made by the Chapter since May last,] we answer, "that in part we cannot perform the same, because it lieth "not in us to call in any demise or lease, once delivered "under our seal to any person. And to the other part, "that there hath been no division made, contrary to the "statutes, or our said letters of dotation.

"To the eighth, [concerning a penny for absence from "prayers, lectures, communions, to be laid upon the Petty "Canons, &c.] we answer, that it is not convenient to per-"form that injunction, because it is contrary to the sta-"tutes.

"To the ninth, [that the Canons officiate in their own "persons in the greater festivals which they call *double*,] "we say, that because it is not set down in the Book of "Service, which be the double or greater feasts, therefore "we are doubtful when to observe the same. Nevertheless, "both the Dean and Prebendaries, at sundry times in the "year, as Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, do execute "in proper person, and so mean to continue, by such as be "at home.

[441] "To the tenth, [that enjoined the elections of Petty Ca-

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"nons, Vicars, &c. should cease, till the royal authority or "the Archbishop's interpretation determined in whom the "right thereof lay, whether in the Dean or Chapter;] we "answer, that the same injunction is not to be performed, "because it is taken to be against the letters patents of do-"tation.

"To the eleventh, we say, as to the appointing of the "scholars to be under tutors, [to be of the Canons or "Preachers,] that the same cannot be well observed, be-"cause few or none of the Prebendaries or Preachers are "willing to take upon them the function; and that be-"cause they are seldom at home at the time of the admis-"sion and putting in of the said scholars; and many of "them for the most part of the year absent.

"To the twelfth, [concerning taking accounts quarterly "of the officers of the common hall,] we answer, that that "injunction is observed, as it is affirmed by such as be "most at home.

"To the thirteenth, [that the stewards, caterers, butlers, "&c. do not exercise their offices by substitutes,] we say, "that it cannot be well observed, because the inferior min-"isters have their office by patent under our common seal, "to use them, or by sufficient deputies.

"To the fourteenth, considering that it is not your "Grace's meaning generally to shut all ways and doors, as "your Grace's way and door entering into the church, the "Postern-gate, the Mint-gate, Mr. King's backdoor; nor "the windows of divers the church's tenements between "Christ's-church gate and St. Michael's gate; the rents "whereof would be then little worth, if their windows "should be stopped up, as Mr. Peerson and Mr. Bungey "can well declare. But for such doors, whereby strangers "do enter into the scite and precincts of the church, we "answer, that, by warning and monition already given, we "have done as much as in us lies presently, and so mean "hereafter, from time to time, to take order, that the said "injunctions may be put in execution.

"To the fifteenth, as touching the church alms, we an-

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"swer, that the Mayor and his brethren have received already twenty marks thereof: as touching our own alms, "we say, that if we might be discharged of such cesses as "the Justices of peace in the shire have laid and may lay "upon us, by order of the statute for provision for the "poor, wherein they have already seriously written unto "us, we can be well contented to obey that injunction." [Whereby the Dean was to contribute to the poor of Canterbury three pound six shillings and eight pence; each Prebendary, two pounds; each Preacher, six shillings and eight pence; each Vicar, three shillings and four pence; each Singing-man, one shilling and four pence; and ten pounds out of the common treasury: to be distributed each quarter by equal portions.]

"To the sixteenth, [for the providing of a Reader of "Divinity to read Wednesdays and Fridays in the church, "for the salary of twenty pounds a year,] we answer, that "that injunction is performed, and the room supplied by "Mr. Sympson."

The Dean and Chapter desire a release of some injunctions. Reg. Decan. et Capit. Cant.

By which answers it appears that the Dean and Chapter, at least some of them, could not well digest several of these injunctions, though undoubtedly the Archbishop gave them upon mature deliberation, and to prevent and rectify abuses. Therefore at the next general Chapter, begun November 25, it was agreed, that Mr. Dean, at the church's charge, should make a journey to London, (among other things,) to be a suitor to the Archbishop's Grace for his release of divers injunctions given in the late visitation. This same general Chapter was from time to time continued to the 24th day of December, where they passed this decree, and then the said Chapter was dissolved, *viz.*

They make a present to the Archbishop.

"Whereas the Lord Archbishop his Grace hath, in "sundry his visitations of this his church of Canterbury, "been at more expenses, by reason that by himself and "his officers he hath made longer abode there, in recon-"ciling controversies arisen and grown in the said church, "than otherwise he should have been at; and for pains [442] "taken in setting down orders of pacification; wherein,

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" and from time to time otherwise, his Grace hath shewed " his accustomed special favour towards the estate of this " church: it is therefore agreed, that his said Grace shall, " in part of a recompense towards those pains taken, and " charges borne, have thirty pounds, to be paid to him by " the hands of our Treasurer of the same church, within " convenient time, after it shall please his Grace to require " the same." Whether this was intended as a real testimony of their gratitude towards the Archbishop, or for some other end, I determine not. And whether the Archbishop received this their present, or no, I cannot tell.

I shall say no more of the Archbishop's visitation yet, it being continued by prorogation to May 2, 1574, under which year we shall take some further view of it.

Orders made by the Archbishop for Apparitors.

As the Archbishop had taken this care of his church, so he also took care of his courts, and the officers thereof. And because so much justice and ease to the subject depended upon the honest discharge of the duty of Apparitors, therefore when one Body was admitted this year to that office, for the Prerogative Court, the Archbishop made these orders following:

Parker's Register, fol. 76.

" *Imprimis*, Every Apparitor from henceforth to be ad- " mitted, shall not only at the time of his admittance take " a corporal oath for the true and faithful executing of his " office; but also shall enter into band unto the Archbi- " shop or his Commissary of his Prerogative Court, to ob- " serve these articles following, which shall concern him.

" That the said Apparitors and every of them, who shall " by virtue of his commission, or by any special process, " warn any person to appear in the said Court of Preroga- " tive, shall deliver unto the said party a note in writing, " containing the cause, the place, and day of his appear- " ance. Which day shall be always sufficient for the party " so monished, to make his appearance, or repair unto the " said Court.

" *Item*, That the said Apparitors shall not presume to " call any person to make his account without the consent

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"of the Judge of the Prerogative, to the intent no person "be vexed without just occasion.

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"*Item*, That the said Apparitors shall not demand of "any person more than accustomed fees, nor above two "pence for the mile, for any excommunication to be de-"nounced, accounting from London to the place where "the party dwelleth. Nor that the said Apparitors shall "exact of any party for the proving of his testament, "if he be required to do the same in his behalf, more "than shall be thought reasonable by the Judge of Pre-"rogative.

"*Item*, That the said Apparitors shall every second "term, at the least, before the end of the term, in their "own person, except they be sick, repair to the office, and "make a declaration of their doings. And shall every term, "by their letters, if they come not themselves, with dili-"gence truly certify their doings; to the intent a good or-"der may be kept therein.

"*Item*, That the said Apparitors, having process of ex-"communication *ex officio* against any person, may, for "avoiding excommunication, stay the denunciation of the "excommunication, upon promise, or other order taken "with the party, to satisfy the effect of the said process, "the term following at the farthest, and no longer. Which "the said Apparitor shall certify immediately unto the "office. And in case the said Apparitor shall receive his "fees, or any part thereof, in the country, he shall certify "the office thereof; to the intent the parties be not, at "their coming up to the office, through their negligence, "and the clerk's ignorance, doubly charged.

[443] "*Item*, To the intent these said orders may be the bet-"ter observed, the Register of the Prerogative for the time "being shall cause one of his clerks to keep a special book "hereof. Wherein shall be noted, not only all such pro-"cess as shall go forth from the said office, and all absolu-"tions concerning the same, but also all such fees as shall "be received for the said officers. Which several fees the

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"said Register shall truly answer unto the said officers accordingly. And the said Register shall further take out for the said Apparitors, at such time as they shall require the same, such process as they shall give information of, except upon reasonable occasion the judge shall not think it convenient."

The bond of an Apparitor. Archbishop Parker's Reg.

The form of the obligation was this; "The condition of this obligation is such, that if the above bounden George Body, being admitted to the office of Apparitor for the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, only in and through the cities and dioceses of Bristow, Bath and Wells, and Exeter, and the exempt places of the same, do truly and faithfully, according to the tenor and effect of a commission to him in that behalf made, bearing date the last day of September, in the year of our Lord 1573, and also according to the tenor of a schedule to these presents annexed, and do and exact, receive or take, or cause to be exacted, received, or taken, any other, or more sum or sums of money, or fees, of any person or persons, for the execution of the office of apparitorship, or for any matter or cause touching or concerning the same office, other than such fees, and in such order only, as is mentioned and described in the said schedule, to these presents annexed; and do also perform and accomplish, or cause to be performed and accomplished, all and every thing and things, mentioned and expressed, in the same schedule to these presents annexed, justly and truly, in and by all things, according to the tenor and effect of the same schedule, without fraud or guile: that then this present obligation to be void and of no effect, or else the same to stand and abide in full power, strength, and virtue."

Regulates the Court of Arches.

This year also the Archbishop regulated the Court of Arches with statutes and constitutions. Wherein, among other things, it was expressly ordained, that neither the Dean nor Official of the Court of Arches should exercise the function or profession of an advocate in any court belonging to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, on pain of

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excommunication and suspension. These constitutions were published at Lambeth, May 6, 1573, and of his consecration the 14th, as I collect from Dr. Godolphin's *Repertorium*. Where are also mentioned Archbishop Whitgift's constitutions of the same Court.

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Repertor. Canonic. p. 103.

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CHAP. XXXIII.

A proclamation against seditious books of Papists. And another against despisers of common prayer. Ecclesiastical Commissioners in every country. The Archbishop observed how Bishops were neglected. His judgment of Puritanism tending to a popular government. Sampson's letter to the Lord Treasurer. The Church, how stored now with preachers.

Popish libellers.

THAT libellous book before spoken of, wherein the government, and especially the Lord Treasurer, and others of the Queen's chief counsellors, were so abused, caused a proclamation soon after, *viz.* September 28, to be sent forth. It appeared thereby, that these libellers were the remainders of the rebels and traitors anno 1569, that now lived abroad. For it set forth, "how certain obstinate and irrepentant traitors, after their notorious rebellions made "against their natural country, had fled out of the same, "and remained in foreign parts, with a continual and wilful determination, as it appeared, to contrive all the mischief they could imagine, to impeach and subvert the "universal quietness and peace of the realm, and beheld "with deadly envy this their natural country, by God's "special grace, directing her Majesty in her government, "most comfortably possessed thereof, both inwardly at "home, and with all outward countries next adjoining. "That since they had wasted their whole time for the prosecuting their rooted malice, by congregating themselves "together in routs, with shews of conventicles, and of "forces, (wherein they had condemned and despised such

Proclamation against them.

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"of their former companions as had dutifully sought for "mercy for their offences,) and by combination with others "of this country birth, of like disposition, being found as "persons vagrant, and wilful fugitives, they sought by and "with them to excite, by all kind of sinister means, divers "estates and governors abroad, to mislike, and to enter "into enmity with the Queen, her realm and people. And "that notwithstanding these their labours and practices, "they saw, that neither they had prevailed, nor could pre-"vail as they desired, by reason of the great wisdom, ho-"nour, and grave consideration of the said persons of "estate, whom they much troubled and annoyed with their "importunate suits and clamours; especially with their "false, malicious, and traitorous suggestions and calumni-"ations of the Queen's Majesty, her government, and this "realm. That being therefore desperate of these their for-"mer travails and practices, and finding her Majesty's "amity was had in good estimation with other the great "princes and estates her neighbours, and that amity also of "the same princes reciproquely embraced by her Majesty, "to the honour and benefit of her Majesty, her allies and "confederates, and their countries and subjects; they were "fallen into another crooked course of malicious persecut-"ing the happy estate of this country and government, by "choosing out of certain shameless, spiteful, and furious "brands, having a trade in penning of infamous libels, "not only in the English, but also in Latin, and other "strange languages. And by these means they had lately "caused certain seditious books and libels to be compiled "and printed in divers languages; wherein their final in-"tention appeared to be, to blaspheme, and as it were to "accuse, their native country with all manner of reproach-"ful terms against the peaceable government thereof; "condemning generally the whole policy of the present "estate, as having no religion nor piety, nor justice nor or-"der, nor good Ministers at all, either for divine or human "causes. And yet, to abuse such as were strangers to the "state, they glossed some of their late libellous books with

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Anno 1573. A Treat. of Treason.

[445] The libels chiefly against the Keeper and the Treasurer.

"arguments of discoveries of treasons intended, as they did "craftily allege, by some special persons, being counsel-"lors, against her Majesty, and the state of this crown and "realm, with reproachful terms of most notorious false "assertions and allegations; bending their malice most "spitefully against two, [meaning the Lord Keeper and "Lord Treasurer,] who were certainly known to have al-"ways been most studiously and faithfully careful of her "Majesty's prosperous estate and virtuous government, "employing thereto all their cares, travails, diligence, and "watching, with the manifest loss and hinderance of their "own health; that no treason might approach to hurt her "Highness, nor treacherous malice to disturb the quiet of "her prosperous reign. These chiefly, beside that general "reproving of all other having charge in this government, "they studied by their venomous and lying books to have "especially misliked of her Majesty, contrary to their ma-"nifold deserts, so approved by long and manifest expe-"rience; which both her Majesty, and all the rest of her "good counsellors and nobility, with other the states of "the realm, have had and daily have of the very same "counsellors. Who also are the more to be allowed of her "Majesty, in that she saw, and of her own mere know-"ledge truly understood, that all the particular matters, "wherewith the said libellers laboured to charge the said "counsellors, as offences, were utterly improbable and "false; as in manner generally, all other her Majesty's "counsellors, ministers, and subjects of understanding, in "every degree, did repute, accept, and know the same to "be. So as, both of her Majesty and of all other her "good counsellors and noblemen, this their attempt was "understood to be the work of cankered envy and malice, "and the accustomed wont of such men as were possessed "with those spirits, when they could not, nor dared not, "openly assail her Majesty by force, or open doings, than "to go about to pull from her her faithful and trusty "counsellors by false calumnies, or with feigned and sur-"mised tales, to make variance, if they could, jealousies,

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" and discords among her Highness's counsellors; who hi-
" therto, with much concord and good agreement, had, as
" was well seen, served prosperously her Highness.

" And therefore her Majesty, having regard to be thank-
" ful to Almighty God, for his blessing of her with his
" protection in her government these many years; and
" for that cause misliking to suffer the same to be in this
" sort by such infamous libels obscured, defamed, or blas-
" phemed, either presently or in time to come, by the se-
" cret dispersings of the same books and libels, either
" within the realm, or abroad in foreign language; and in
" like manner, being unwilling to have such as were her
" well-tried and approved faithful servants and counsellors,
" to be thereby taxed, and altogether with manifest un-
" truths impudently uttered, to the dishonour of her Ma-
" jesty, to whom they are counsellors; therefore thought
" necessary, and so, by advice of others her Council and
" nobility, whose reputation is also most certainly taxed by
" the said manifest slanders and untruths, she willed, that
" by this her public declaration it be known, that the same
" books and libels be of her Majesty, and of her Council,
" esteemed, judged, and condemned to be works of despisers
" of God's true religion, of obstinate traitors against her
" Majesty's person, state, and dignity, and of unnatural
" and malignant enviers of the common good tranquillity of
" her realms. Who, the more to abuse some simpler sort of
" people, did deliver a shew of certain things pretended for
" the safety of her Majesty's person and state, the same
" being indeed most manifest and direct practices to ruin
" her person, and overthrow her state. And therefore she
" charged all manner of persons to despise, reject, and de-
" stroy such books and libels, whensoever they should
" come to their hands, for the malicious slanders and un-
" truths contained in them: and that no man willingly
" should bring them into the realm, disperse, dispose, or
" deliver to any other, or keep any of the said books or
" libels without destroying; except the same person were
" one of her Majesty's Privy Council, or otherwise for rea-

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1578.

"sonable respects were duly licensed to have the same to "peruse, and to reprove, according to the quality thereof, "upon pain to be by any public officer apprehended, and "thereupon to be punished, as sowers of sedition, and "abettors to the treason uttered in the same."

[446] Breakers of the orders prescribed, increase.

And as in September there went forth this declaration against the Papists, so the next month, *viz.* October 20, a proclamation was published against the despisers and breakers of the orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. For this, which was before but privately disliked by some men, was come now to be openly broken and despised, and spoken against by many, both in their preachings and writings. And besides, new rites and new churches were set up; and many withdrew from the public communion in parish churches, as though the cause was now the same as was in the times when Popery was professed. This awakened the State to take some more diligent cognizance of it. And the Bishops, as well as other Magistrates, were blamed for their negligence in punishing it; and were required to give greater diligence therein for the future.

A proclamation to restrain them.

The Queen's proclamation shewed, "that she was right "sorry to understand that the order of Common Prayer, "set forth by the common consent of the realm, and by "the authority of the Parliament, in the first year of her "reign, wherein was nothing contained but the Scripture "of God, and that which was consonant unto it, was now "of late of some men despised and spoken against, both by "open preachings and writings, and of some bold and vain "curious men, new and other rites found out and fre-"quented: whereupon contentions, sects, and disquietness "did arise among her people; and, for one godly and uni-"form order, diversity of rites and ceremonies, disputa-"tions and contentions, schisms and divisions, were already "risen, and more like to ensue. The cause of which dis-"orders her Majesty did plainly understand to be the neg-"ligence of the Bishops and other magistrates; who "should cause the good laws and acts of Parliament, made

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"in this behalf, to be better executed, and not so dissem-
"bled and winked at, as hitherto it might appear that they
"had been.

"For speedy remedy whereof, her Majesty straitly
"charged and commanded all Archbishops and Bishops,
"and all Justices of Assize, and of Oyer and Terminer,
"and all Mayors, head officers of the cities and towns cor-
"porate, and all others that had authority, to put in exe-
"cution the act for the uniformity of common prayer and
"administration of the sacraments, made in the first year
"of her reign, with all diligence and severity, neither fa-
"vouring nor dissembling with one person or other, who
"should neglect, despise, or seek to alter the goodly orders
"and rites set forth in the said Book.

"But if any person should by public preaching, writing,
"or printing, contemn, despise, or dispraise, the orders con-
"tained in the said Book, they should immediately appre-
"hend him, and cause him to be imprisoned, until he had
"answered to the law. Upon pain that the chief officers,
"being present at any such preaching, and the whole pa-
"rish, should answer for their contempt and negligence.

"Likewise, if any should forbear to come to the com-
"mon prayer, and receive the sacraments of the Church,
"according to the order in the said Book allowed, upon no
"just and leful cause; all such persons they should in-
"quire of, and see punished and redressed, according as is
"prescribed in the said act, with more care and diligence
"than heretofore had been done. The which negligence
"had been the cause why such disorders had of late so
"much and in so many places increased and grown.

"And if any persons, either in private houses, or public
"places, made assemblies, and therein used other rites of
"common prayer and administration of the sacraments,
"than was prescribed in the said Book, or should maintain
"in their houses any persons, being notoriously charged
"by books or preachings to attempt the alteration of the
"said orders; they should see such persons punished with

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"all severity according to the laws of the realm, by pains "appointed in the same act.

"And because these matters did principally appertain to "the cure of persons ecclesiastical, her Majesty gave a most "special and earnest charge to all Archbishops, Bishops, "Archdeacons, Deans, and all such as had ordinary juris-"diction in such cases, to have a vigilant eye and care to the "observation of the orders and rites in the said Book prescrib-[447] "ed, throughout their cures and dioceses; and to proceed "from time to time by ordinary and ecclesiastical jurisdic-"tion, as was granted them in the said act, with all celerity "and severity against all persons who should offend against "any of the orders of the said Book prescribed; upon pain "of her Majesty's high displeasure for their negligence, "and deprivation from their dignities and benefices; and "other censures to follow, according to their demerits. "Given at Greenwich." What care soever the Queen had of the Church by this proclamation, the manner of the drawing it up, charging so severely the Bishops, made it appear what little good-will the Court had for them. And so the Bishops resented it, as we shall see by and by.

Commissions ecclesiastical for every diocese.

This proclamation the Queen pursued with commissions to the Bishops of each diocese, and other persons in the several counties, to make inquiry after any breaches of her ecclesiastical laws, and to cite before them such as brake them, and to hear and determine thereof, and inflict punishments accordingly. But these Commissioners were not seldom friends to these men; and the physicians themselves were sick, as the Bishop of Ely, speaking of these commissions, expressed himself to the Archbishop.

The Archbishop laments the Court's neglect of the Bishops.

It was a thing that our Prelate often contemplated with grief, to see what a back friend the Court was to those of his order, and how it secretly favoured those (whatever it pretended) that were sworn enemies to them and the established discipline. And a new occasion was on the second of November given him, when he and some other Bishops were at Court, and some of the noblemen had made their

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subscriptions, in relation to something of the church, (probably for the repairing of Paul's steeple, or something of that nature,) and the Lord Burghley hereupon gave out a word publicly: which was, to have them, the Bishops, understand how careful they [the courtiers] were for their state ecclesiastical. The Archbishop the next day wrote to him, saying, "that he must tell him secretly, that he "doubted when his Lordship used those words, whether "he might have smiled or lamented, to think that he would "offer it to their contemplation, [who knew so well that it "was quite otherwise,] that were driven quite out of regard." To which I may join what the same Archbishop said at another time, *viz.* in July last, to the same Lord; "That how "secure soever the nobility were of these Puritans, and "countenanced them against the Bishops, they themselves "might rue it at last. And that all that these men tended "towards, was to the overthrow of all of honourable quality, "and the setting afoot a commonwealth, or, as he called "it, a *popularity*." Which remarkable observation he made upon this occasion.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1573.

Observes the Puritans aimed at a popular government.

The Lord Treasurer had sent to our Archbishop a letter he had received from some Puritan, wherein he was severely charged, as it seems, for neglect of promoting the Gospel, and for countenancing the Bishops in their proceedings against some Ministers, for their deviating from the rites established; as they had lately been strictly enjoined to do by proclamation. In which letter also the writer had propounded to him some advertisements. These lines, making some impression probably upon the heart of this stayed and good man, and having some matter in them that might not be unfit for the Archbishop to take notice of, he sent the letter therefore to him. Whereof the Archbishop gave his judgment: which was, that in his opinion the man had more zeal than wit or wisdom, or yet learning. And that he took his *weighty advertisements*, as he called them, to be *fulgur ex pelvi*, but the *lightning of a basin*. Adding these remarkable words; "Surely, said he, if this fond "faction be applauded to, and borne with, it will fall out to

His judgment of a Puritan's letter, sent to the Lord Treasurer.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1573.

"a popularity, [he meant, a parity and equality in the "State, as well as in the Church,] and as wise men think, it "will be the overthrow of all the nobility. They be not "unwise or unskilful men that see the likelihood. We have "to do with such, as neither be conformable in religion, nor "in life will practise the same. Both Papists and Precisians "have one mark to shoot at, plain disobedience; some of "simplicity, some of wiliness and stubbornness. I marvel "what prudence it can be, first to hew thus at us. And "certainly yourselves [meaning the Lord Burghley and the "rest of the nobility] will shortly follow."

[448] These were some of the Archbishop's reflections upon that letter the Treasurer sent him to peruse, which had been wrote by some Puritan to him; and seems to have been Mr. Dering, who was naturally a very hot man, and used to write freely to the Treasurer, and for whose learning the Archbishop had little opinion.

Sampson writes to the Treasurer for a reformation.

Sampson also, a man of somewhat a better temper and more learning, and when he wrote to the Treasurer, wrote with more respect, used, by writing often and freely, to confer with him about Church matters. This man, near about this time, as I guess, conveyed a letter to him by Mr. Francis Hastings from Leicester; (the same, I suppose, who was afterwards called Sir Francis Hastings, and wrote the Watchword to Catholics, about the year 1598 or 1599. To whom Parsons in answer set forth his Ward-word.) In the said Sampson's letter to the Treasurer, he calls upon him to urge the Queen to a reformation in the Church according to Bucer's book of the Kingdom of Christ, (which, as he supposed, favoured the platform of the Puritans,) and that all the people of England should be gathered together into sufficient distinct congregations, and might have their pastors resident among them, to teach, rule, and govern them: and this government to be according as is prescribed in the Gospel; and that all the Doctors and Civilians, such as Chancellors, Proctors, Officials, &c. might be excluded governing in the Church; who (he said) exercised *jus canonicum*, the *canonical*, that is, the Pope's, *law*, in a Pro-

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testant Church. The Treasurer mildly answered this letter by the same bearer, Hastings; therein telling him, that, for his part, he liked well of his motions, so far as respected the reforming what was amiss in the Church. But that he could not do that good, which either he would, or others did think he could. To whom Sampson gave in reply another letter in the beginning of the next year, which may be seen in the Appendix.

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N°. XCIII.

But whatsoever accusations of defects and faults disaffected men heaped up against the present constitution of the Church, it was our Archbishop's care to wipe them off. And for this purpose (besides judicial proceedings in the ecclesiastical commission) he excited and encouraged men of learning and ability to confute libels, and to vindicate the usages and practices of the Church, in learned books which he caused to be published. One of the chief of these writers was Dr. Whitgift, of whom we have heard before. From him we have some account how the nation was by this time furnished with preachers, so requisite for the instruction of the laity in the principles of the reformation. It was one of the greatest charges the adverse party laid against the Church, the paucity of such as should preach the Gospel to the people. And Cartwright talked, how at this time there were two thousand sufficient men in France, who preached and furthered diligently there the flock of Christ, by the estimation of those who knew the state of that afflicted Church: spoken in derogation of ours, who had so few, though in so flourishing a condition. But Whitgift answered, that he had talked with some wise and godly preachers of that country, who had as good cause to know the state of that Church for that matter; and that, for any thing he could learn of them, Cartwright had outshot himself (reckoning at the least) one thousand four hundred. Which, if it were so, reduced the pretended number of the preachers of those Protestant Churches in France from two thousand to six hundred. But to look here at home for the number of preachers throughout England, he could not write the certainty. But of one of the Universi-

The numbers of preachers at this time.

Whitgift's defence.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1573.

ties, (to wit, that of Cambridge,) because he had some experience, the numbers it had bred since the beginning of the Queen's reign to this year 1573, were at least four hundred and fifty, besides those who had been called to that office after their departure thence. And the number of preachers then in that University remaining was an hundred.

Though it was to be confessed, (as the said Whitgift added,) that the factions and tumults, which they (the ill-willers to the Church established) and others had made, discouraged a great many from the ministry, and caused not a few to contemn it, and others to think the calling to be unlawful, and therefore abstained from it. And further added, that he knew by experience many of them devised and practised, by all means possible, to stir up contention in the University, on purpose to dissuade men from the ministry.

[449] Letters to the Bishops, for the pressing uniformity.

It was mentioned before what strict orders were issued out by proclamation, for pressing uniformity to the common prayers, and for putting the act in force, made in the first year of the Queen for that purpose; and that the Bishops were especially required to take more effectual care in that affair. Therefore in the beginning of the next month after that proclamation, the Lords of the Council backed it with their letters to the said Bishops: which were drawn up (as I find by the hand) by Secretary Smith. The tenor whereof shall follow hereafter, together with the judgment of some Bishops hereupon.

That which awakened the Queen and Council at this time against these innovations, was partly the story that follows.

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CHAP. XXXIV.

Birchet's foul act. The Archbishop's apprehension of danger to the Queen from Papists. Recommends able men for vacancies in the Church. Writes to the Lord Treasurer in favour of the Bishop of Lincoln, who had displaced Chapman. Appoints searchers after dangerous books. One attempts to kill Day the printer. Moves for Still to be Dean of Norwich. Some against fonts. His judgment of them. Dering restored. The Bishop of Ely's letter thereupon.

Anno 1573. Birchet, a zealot, stabs Hawkins.

ONE of this persuasion, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, Peter Birchet by name, did in the month of October a most foul and horrible act, being acted by a principle which he had imbibed, *viz.* that it was lawful to kill an enemy of the Gospel. And such an one he held Mr. Christopher Hatton to be, one of the Queen's Privy Council; whom therefore he resolved to stab. And one day in the said month of October, seeing Mr. Winter and Mr. Hawkins, eminent officers of the Queen's navy, pass up the Middle Temple-lane towards Fleet-street, he went after them, and in the Strand overtook them, and supposing Hawkins to be Hatton, stabbed him with his dagger very dangerously.

Was observed before to be disturbed in mind.

The very day he did this deed, being Wednesday, about seven o'clock in the morning, he called one of his neighbours, Mr. Moile, to go and hear Mr. Sampson's lecture; [at Whittington college:] and they did so, going both together by water. And coming back together after the sermon was done, Birchet used some good talk of the lecture. Not long after he was heard by some to say standing by himself, *Shall I do it? What, shall I do it? Why then I will do it.* And so hastened away towards his chamber, [probably to fetch his dagger.] This man had this in his mind some time before. For upon some words with one of his acquaintance of the Temple, namely, Mr. Spencer, he said, Spencer went about craftily to sift him: but, said he, I have

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a thing at my heart, which neither thou nor any man alive shall know; and therefore be content. But Birchet had been observed not long before this to have been disturbed in his mind, and had talked franticly by fits, being at one Mr. Dackombs, a friend of his in Dorsetshire.

He justifies his deed under his hand. MSS. Burghlian.

When for this fact he was committed to prison, he still persisted in this opinion, that he had done but what he ought to do, and did not repent it; only that he mistook the person. October 27. this question was put to him to answer in writing, Whether a private man, being persuaded in his own conceit that one is a wilful Papist, and hinders the glory of God so much as in him lies, may of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the same person? and whether the same act is to be warranted by the word of God, or no? *Item*, Whether, if you had killed Mr. Hatton, being persuaded in your own opinion that your conceit had been true, you thought the same act to be lawful, and that you would not repent the same deed? To this case Birchet gave this answer. "In my simple judg-
"ment, being no Divine, a private man being persuaded in
[450] "his own conceit, by such presumptions and proofs as I
"have had of Hatton, that [such] one as he (as I have
"thought) is a wilful Papist, and hindereth the glory of
"God so much as in him lieth; though he may not of his
"own authority in the fervency of his zeal kill the same;
"yet being so persuaded in conscience by such presump-
"tions and assured persuasions, as he may be, and I was;
"that thereby he should be such an instrument as Joab
"was, to take away such a Seba, as Reg. cap. xx. (or an
"Ahad to Eglon, or Phinees,) for the preservation of David,
"his royal prince, the wealth of his country; especially for
"the glory of God, as I was, I think, at this time; he may
"do it, and to be warranted by the word of God. I being
"persuaded as before, if I had killed him, the act had been
"lawful by God's law, if not by man's law; and I would
"not have repented me of the same deed.

"Subscribed by me, Pet. Byrchet, 27. Oct. 1573."

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Anno 1573. His end.

All this foregoing relation of this strange action I have taken out of certain Burghleian MSS. This man was indicted; and being, for the opinion abovesaid, about to be condemned of heresy, he promised to renounce his heresy; but shifted it off. And being committed to the Tower, he knocked his keeper on the head with a billet, for which he was hanged, as Camden relates his end. Such another zealot we shall hear of by and by, who attempted, for the same religious reason, to kill Day the printer, and others in the family wherein he was.

The Archbishop's judgment as to the dangers of Popery.

About the latter end of October, some dangerous designs of the Papists began to be discovered, as it seems, against the Queen's life; though they carried very fair, and smooth, and loyal shews and pretences. Which excited our Archbishop to use these expressions to his friend the Lord Treasurer: "That they had need look well to themselves: that "the Devil would rage, and his imps would rail and be fu-"rious; that he could transform himself into *angelum lucis*. "He said, he saw before he came first to Lambeth, and so "wrote his fancies to some one of the noble personages of "this realm, [the Lord Keeper Bacon,] namely, that con-"templation that he then did see and read, and now was "practised, and would every day, he feared, increase," [*viz.* the practices of some Papists, and others, to assassinate the Queen.] Adding, "When Lucian, in his declamation "*pro tyrannicida*, shall speak for his reward in destroying "a tyrant, (however Erasmus and More play in the answer-"ing to it,) and then the consciences of men shall be per-"suaded (and that under colour of God's word) that this "act is meritorious; what will come of it, think you? And "then he called to his Lordship's remembrance a word "once uttered by a Scotch gentlewoman, as he was in-"formed, [meaning, I suppose, the Scotch Queen,] that "*though Fenton be dead, yet there be more Fentons re-"maining*. [Felton, probably, a bold daring fellow that "was executed anno 1570, for setting up the Pope's bull "against the Queen upon the Bishop of London's gates.] "But he checked himself, saying, he would not write of

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"that which he had not full proof of, being neither *tutum* "nor *sanum*." By which words he hinted his jealousies of some assassination of the Queen by Popish hands.

Advises the Lord Treasurer upon the vacancy of St. Asaph.

The see of St. Asaph was now vacant: and so was the deanery of Norwich, which, out of his love to that place of his nativity, he styled, *that poor decayed room of Norwich.* His zeal to see the Church of England, whereof he was one of the chief pastors, well supplied; and having the experience of some, that were none of the worthiest, formerly put in; he thought fit now, in the month of November, to advise the Lord Burghley, the great statesman, through whose hands most preferments went, bidding him look well whom he did admit into those vacancies, that he were not beguiled. "Many things," he said, "be spoken of us, and "how they be credited, God knows; and many things be "deserved, and some things are untrue. The world is sub-"tle." By these short and imperfect hints signifying how apt the world was to take advantage of any failings in the Bishops, and to make evil representations of the Church, and religion itself, for their sakes. And so willing were men to hear evil of the Bishops, that they were too apt to raise falsehoods and slanders concerning them, and others, to give too easy credit thereunto.

[451] Writes to the Treasurer in the Bishop of Lincoln's behalf.

The Bishop of Lincoln [Cooper] had displaced one Chapman, a precise Minister, out of Bedford. He created that Bishop some trouble by making his complaint at Court. The Bishop sends his letter to our Archbishop, relating to him the case, and intreating him to stand his friend to the Lord Treasurer. Whereupon the Archbishop said little to the said Lord, but sent to him the said Bishop's letter, wherein the whole case was, thinking that was enough to reconcile him Burghley's favour. The Archbishop only referred the matter to his wisdom, saying, that for himself he would prognosticate nothing. Meaning yet, that he might a great deal; and indeed, as he had before hinted, enough of the danger the nobility were in, and the tendency of this faction to a commonwealth.

He was, this month of November, very diligent in search-

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Makes search for dangerous books.

ing for dangerous books, Popish as well as of disaffected Protestants. And some success these searchers found; divers Popish books being brought to him. Harrison, Warden of the Stationers' Company, brought him another ill book in quires. What book this was I find not, only that it had been printed in Queen Mary's reign[a]. He set this Harrison and some others on work, to search out more. They had found all the printers of Cartwright's book, and examined them. And, among the rest, one whose name was Asplin; who after examination was suffered again to go abroad, and was taken into Day's house to service. This Day was a printer favoured by the Bishops, and printed books allowed by authority. This fellow purposed to kill Day and his wife, and others of his family. And being asked what he meant, he answered, *The spirit moved him.* Whereupon they imprisoned him again, and all the rest of the printers, as dangerous persons. Harrison told this to the Archbishop; and the Archbishop communicated the same to the Lord Treasurer immediately in a letter.

[a] It seems to have been Goodman's book.

Asplin, a printer of Cartwright's book.

Nov. 13.

Recommends Mr. Still for the deanery of Norwich.

For the deanery of Norwich, he the same month directed another letter to the Treasurer; but with this preface, in regard of that unkind opposition he often met with at Court; "That if grace, he trusted, and zeal in the Queen's "quieter government, and some affection to his native "country, moved him not, he would not at that time com-"mend any man to any room; but seeing the Queen and "them to be in deliberation, who it were best to appoint for "that deanery, he said, if Mr. Still were not his Chaplain, "he would say, that he were as meet a man in all respects, "as any he knew in England. He said, he thought he "knew that people, how they were disposed and inclined. "They would have one learned and gracious to them, to "stay them. That if he had not wished well to his coun-"try, he would have been loath to bestow him in that place "there. The church was miserable, and had but six Pre-"bendaries, and but one of them then at home, both needy "and poor. He knew some of those six to be Puritans. "Of whom Chapman was one, lately removed by the Bishop

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"of Lincoln. Johnson another, cocking abroad with his "four several prebends, as the report went, in new erected "churches, both against statute and his oath. Indeed Still, "he said, was a young man, [being now not much above "thirty,] but he took him to be better mortified than some "others of forty or fifty years of age. He confessed, that "he had been lately shamefully deceived by some young "men, [meaning Aldrich for one,] and so had he been by "some elder men. Experience would teach. In fine, he "thought, that a hungry, scraping, and covetous man, should "not do well in that so decayed a church." But neither did the Archbishop now obtain his request. And Still must stay a while for his preferment, till Whitgift be removed to a bishopric, which was about four years after this time; and then he succeeded him in the mastership of Trinity college. Though his patron and friend, the Archbishop, never lived to see him preferred.

His thoughts upon such as were for taking away fonts.

The innovators in London now were offended with the fonts, and also with the brasen eagles, which were ornaments in the chancels, and made for lectures. And so they had been bickering at them for divers years past. These they were for taking away; and as for the eagles, they must be molten, to make pots and basins for new fonts. Whereat the Archbishop makes these contemplations; "That he "did but marvel what some men meant, to gratify these "Puritans, railing against themselves with such alterations, "where order had been taken publicly these seven years by "Commissioners, according to the statute, that fonts should [452] "not be removed. Answer was made, that they were but "trifles. *Sed hæ nugæ seria ducunt*, saith he. And that "the world was much given to innovations, and never con-"tented to stay to live well."

Dering restored to his lecture by the Council.

Dering, (of whom before,) whose principles our Archbishop never liked, and had suspended him from reading his lectures in London, was brought (I suppose upon his desire) before the Privy Council. Who propounded to him several articles to make answer to: as, concerning his allowance of the Book of Common Prayer, and the doctrine of the Thirty-

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nine Articles, to be agreeable to the word of God; and also concerning the consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and some other articles: which may be seen in a book called *Part of a Register*. To which he gave such answers, as made very ill reflections upon our reformation and religion established, and shewed him very disaffected towards it. But notwithstanding, the Council, without any advice taken with our Archbishop, or other of the spiritualty, restored him to his reading again. This, I suppose, the Archbishop in his correspondence with his brother, the grave, wise, ancient, and godly Bishop of Ely, imparted to him. Who hereupon writ a sharp and notable letter to the Lord Treasurer, from his seat at Doddington, the 5th of August, to this tenor:

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Bishop of Ely to the Lord Treasurer hereupon. Epist. D. Ri. Elien. penes me.

"That like as of late he was well comforted, and greatly "rejoiced, with a great many more of like zeal, of his godly "and prudently dealing with certain of them, who by their "impudent dealing stirred up great schism in our Church; "for that their doings redounded very much to God's glory, "to the Queen's honour, and to the tranquillity of her liege "people: so now he was right sorry to understand, that "these their doings were not constantly and orderly prose-"cuted. That Mr. Dering, upon fond and untrue answers "to certain articles, was notwithstanding restored to his "former function; to the defacing (as he, the Bishop, took "it) of the former order, [of suspension by the Queen's "ecclesiastical Commissioners,] to the encouragement of our "precise brethren, and to the discouragement of others, "who sought peace, quietness, and obedience. That it was "true, the magistrates had to deal in religion. God forbid "else. But to deal and to decide matters of religion, with-"out the assistance of some such as were professors of the "same, *I say plainly* (said he) *is not lawful*. That the "proofs whereof were too long. Only he put him in re-"membrance of two sayings: *viz.*

"*Arcadius et Honorius sic censent: quoties de religione "agitur, Episcopos convenit agitare.*

"*Bullingerus, columna una in Ecclesia Christi, sic cen-*

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"*set: Sacerdotum proprium est officium, de religione ex* "*verbo Dei constituere. Principum autem est, juvare sa-* "*cerdotes, et provehere, tuerique veram religionem.*

"And that for this cause, in all godly assemblies, *sacer-* "*dotes* had been usually placed in Parliaments, in Privy Coun- "cils, especially when matters of religion had been decerned. "And so offered up unto the Prince, by full authority to "be established. That he would be loath to move her Ma- "jesty in this case: trusting that through his [the Lord "Treasurer's] wisdom and good zeal, this matter might be "redressed, to God's glory, her Majesty's honour, and the "quietness of her Church. That he must bear with him, "as he did always, *quia zelus domus Dei comedit me.* "And so prayed the Lord Jesus to have him in his blessed "keeping."

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CHAP. XXXV.

Various matters in the diocese of Norwich; wherein the Archbishop was concerned. Aylsham school. Writes to the Bishop against placing one Harrison, a Puritan, to be schoolmaster there. A Popish rood-loft in St. Gregory's church. Receives a letter from the Bishop about it. Crick, a Puritan, belonging to this cathedral. A commission for a parochial visitation of this diocese. The Bishop gives the Archbishop an account thereof. Certifies him of the state of his diocese. Desires the Archbishop's direction, what kind of bread to be used in the Sacrament. The Archbishop's answer.

IF we look into the diocese of Norwich, some things there were that fell out there about the declining of the year, wherein the Archbishop was concerned; as his kindness and care for that country shewed itself more especially upon all occasions.

A faculty corrupted.

His Faculty Court was a burden to him rather than a gain, so many complaints filled his ears concerning it. In

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the month of October the Bishop of Norwich sent up a faculty. One Robert Marshal had procured one for the obtaining of Orders from the Bishop of Norwich. But in this faculty they had rased the word *non*, and had made it *vel*, to the plain alteration of the sense, and defeating the intent of the faculty. This the Bishop discovered, and bound the party to appear before the Archbishop; and by one of Mr. Drury's servants sent the faculty itself to the Archbishop. For knavery and dishonest means were not unusual nowadays to get into sacred Orders, as well as simony to compass the livings of the Church. And therefore the Bishops were as diligent to watch and keep such out from being pastors of Christ's flock, who were more like to be wolves to it.

Aylsham school.

The Archbishop shewed a further care of his own country, and likewise of his charge, in the concern he had for the due furnishing of the freeschool of Aylsham in Norfolk with an able schoolmaster, for the education of youth in good manners and wholesome doctrine. In this behalf therefore he wrote his letter to the Bishop of Norwich. The Archbishop was inclined the rather to interpose in this election, because one of those that stood candidates for the school did not seem to approve of the established rites and ceremonies. And therefore he feared lest a person so inclined might do harm in that great town. For this person being to be married, declined the order of the Book; and did labour that Mr. Lancelot Thexton, the Vicar, a known learned and pious man, would administer the said office of marriage to him differently from the prescript order: and in the manner of his marriage he gave offence to many. And afterward being questioned for it, he rather confirmed his disobedience, than any ways submitted himself for the same. For this and some other reasons, as, that he was reported to condemn the reading of profane authors to children, and was very young, and some said troubled with a frenzy: which sickness as it was incurable, so it was most dangerous to admit such a person to have rule over youth,

Harrison a Puritan.

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that had not power to rule over himself at some times. The Bishop of Norwich, who was to nominate and appoint the schoolmaster, declined some time to accept him, when certain persons of quality in the city of Norwich, as Peck the Mayor, Drury, Windham, Aldrich, Aldermen, writ a letter to him in his favour; the Bishop excusing himself to them in these words: "That being for his own part, in respect "of his place, as also for duty and discharge of his con-"science, both to have a special care over the youth of his "diocese, as the imps that by God's grace may succeed by "good bringing up, and become worthy in the common-
450 "wealth, he could not be easily persuaded to admit Mr. "Harrison [that was his name, being a Master of Art of "Cambridge, and otherwise well learned] to any such "charge." But however, great interest was made for the man, and many of the reports that went of him proved untrue. But of these qualities of Harrison the Archbishop became acquainted, and wrote to the Bishop to take heed how he admitted him.

Harrison admitted school-master;

Nevertheless at length, of the three offering themselves for the place, Harrison proving by far the best qualified, and withal shewing repentance for his late fact, and making a faithful promise that he would be neither author nor maintainer of any faction there; and the Bishop more certainly certified that the complaints made against him were not so truly objected, as they were vehemently uttered by some of his ill-willers; and receiving the testimony, and making proof himself of the worthiness and ability of the man for that function; having also his promise and bond for his quiet and conformable order of living and behaviour; and lastly, being most earnestly moved herein by sundry of good worship and learning; he at the length admitted him, under such conditions as if he should not observe, he offered himself to be removed and punished.

On conditions.

These conditions, or articles, were as follow: That he should keep and execute the statutes of the school, in reading the authors there appointed: that he should not be

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contentious, neither with his Pastor nor neighbours: that he should have no evil nor strange opinions, nor defend them obstinately in prophesying, or any other conference: that he should use no unlawful games, neither vain or disordered company.

He breaks them, and is discharged the school.

Of all these passages the Bishop acquainted his Grace; and in fine, since the same was done orderly, according to the foundation of the school, he trusted, and moreover desired the Archbishop, that he would not further meddle therein for his poor credit sake, with others of good countenance that had been doers therein. And he acquiesced, only requiring the Bishop, that if the schoolmaster elected performed not what he subscribed to, he might receive according to his merits. But notwithstanding all these promises and protestations made by this man, that he might get the school, it was within less than a month after, that he, being godfather to the child of one Allen of Aylsham, came in the beginning of service-time to Gladon, a Deacon, who it seems was to baptize the child, requesting him to change the word of the book, viz. *thou* into *you;* and to leave out the sign of the cross: as, for *Dost thou forsake,* he would have had him to say, *Do you forsake:* for *Dost thou believe, Do ye believe:* and when it was asked, *Wilt thou be baptized in this faith?* it was answered, *We do bring this child to be baptized into the faith of Christ.* This was testified by the said Gladon. So that Harrison was not long-lived in this school; for, breaking his promises, he forfeited his place: and in January the Bishop clearly discharged him, and put in his room one Sutton, for whom the Archbishop had spoken. And as for Harrison, he seems to be the same with him of that name that afterwards was of great fame among the Puritans, and, together with Brown, set forth the book that gave the ground to *Brownism.*

A rood-loft in St. Gregory's in Norwich.

The Church was not yet so well cleansed of the remainders of Popish superstition, but that in divers places further reformation was needful. The vigilant Bishop of Norwich was informed that there was a Popish rood-loft still remaining in St. Gregory's church in Norwich, with the fashion

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and order as was in the time of Popery. This many good people, and especially one Morley of that parish, complained of: others of the said parish, men of looser principles, or more favourable to Popery, were as fond of it. Whereupon the Bishop sent the Bishop of Man, who was Dean of the cathedral, with his Chancellor and Commissary, to repair thither to inquire into the thing; and, as need was, to make reformation: which was done. But of this our Archbishop was informed, or rather misinformed, by some of the parish; and even one that was the Archbishop's Chaplain mistook when he certified the Archbishop, that the rood-loft in that church was no other than the rood-lofts in the other churches of Norwich. Hereupon the Archbishop, that was now grown very jealous of Puritans, and feared making any further alterations in the churches, as things proceeding from them, wrote a letter to the Bishop of these matters: to whom, for his full satisfaction, the said Bishop returned this discreet answer:

451 The Bishop of Norwich to the Archbishop hereupon. E MSS. R. P. Joh. Ep. Elien.

"My duty humbly remembered: for answer to your "Grace's letters on the behalf of Francis Morley, and the "state of St. Gregory's church in Norwich; the Bishop of "Man, and Dr. Gardiner, being patron of that church, my "Chancellor, and Dr. Brisley, Commissary of the city of "Norwich, have been together at the said church, beside "some other of my house: who all do generally mislike "the order of the rood-loft, as being in a manner whole, "with the voult or soller, and the forepart with the door "and stairs to go up; so as little is wanting of that it was "in the time of Popery. And it was certainly affirmed by "the persons aforenamed, that while they were present there "was nothing uttered by Morley, or urged by them, but "that may well be allowed, and is agreeable to the book "of Advertisements, and the Canons set forth by authority. "And therefore I marvel that any of that parish should so "much forget themselves as to report an untruth to your "Grace; but such is the nature of Debney of that parish, who many ways forgetteth himself, as in calling the

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"Geneva Psalms, Gehenna Psalms. Such other adversa-
"ries there be many in that parish. And herein your
"Grace's Chaplain hath forgotten the state of that rood-
"loft. For while the Bishop of Man and the rest were
"there, they saw three men stand on a rank upon the sol-
"ler. Wherefore they of the parish must needs in main-
"taining thereof bewray what they be, and condemn the
"rest of the rood-lofts in Norwich, being contrary to
"that of St. Gregory's. Touching the credit of the said
"Morley, whom they have so greatly complained of, I
"have known him well since my coming hither to be right-
"honest, faithful, and of upright judgment, forward to
"reform gross abuses, such as this is of the rood-loft; and
"not otherwise any way curious or busily given, that ever
"I knew, or can truly learn: but applying himself with
"his honest travail doth get his living, and maintaineth a
"great charge, to his good commendation, and the credit
"and good favour of the most part of the city or else-
"where, with whom he is acquainted, even of the best and
"most worshipful calling; as shall well appear to your
"Grace by such other good report as shall be delivered on
"his behalf.

"And craving pardon for these my tedious letters, be-
"seeching the Almighty to prosper you in all your godly
"attempts, I humbly take my leave, this last of September,
"1573.

"Your Grace's to command,

"J. Norwich."

Crick of Norwich, an innovator.

There was one Crick, that belonged to the cathedral church of Norwich, and read a lecture there: this man laboured to innovate. He had lately preached at Paul's Cross, London, (as was mentioned before,) and had then given such offence, that the Archbishop and ecclesiastical commission had sent for him from Norwich. Upon his coming down again next after that sermon at the Cross, he was guilty of some rash attempt, whether it were the reading of his lecture upon some prohibition from the Archbishop to

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forbear, or somewhat else; whereupon the Bishop of Norwich, his Chancellor, restrained him: and by him he was sent up to the Archbishop. It was not long after, he came down again, and offered to continue his lecture as he was accustomed before to do; which the Bishop denied him, till the Archbishop's pleasure were known for the order taken with him, and the manner of his return home being altogether unknown to him. This happened about October or November.

A commission for the diocese of Norwich.

About which time, by virtue of a special order from the Queen and Council to the Bishop to visit this diocese of Norwich parochially, (the like whereof was sent to the rest of the Bishops, as we shall see in due place,) a strict inquiry was made about the Clergy's conformity; many of whom did not wear the habits, nor used other rites enjoined. The Ministers of Norwich had been before the Bishop there, (as he wrote to the Archbishop, December 3,) whom he had earnestly admonished to conformity and due obedience, and found them agreeing and very tractable; Mr. Castelton, B. D. first, and so the rest wholly, saving that one Mr. Moor, a learned man, and Minister of St. Andrew's, stuck at the wearing of the surplice, because, as he said, he should be offensive to some: but the Bishop told him, it were better to offend a few private persons, than to offend God, and disobey the Prince. Of this man yet the Bishop gave this character to the Archbishop; that he had not known that he had spoken against her Majesty's book [of Injunctions] at any time, neither could he find any manner of stubbornness in him. "And surely, (as he "added,) he is godly and learned, and hath done much "good in this city."

Mr. Moor, Minister of St. Andrew's.

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The certificates of the state of the diocese of Norwich.

How the Bishop's Chancellor, and other his Commissaries, found the rest of the Ministers of the diocese, may appear by this list, as the Bishop sent it to the Archbishop; *viz.* that Mr. Chancellor sent him word, that there were but two in Norwich that refused to wear the surplice, Mr. Moor and Mr. Sharp. That Ro. Haughe, one of his Commissaries, *viz.* for Suffolk, certified him, that the names un-

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derwritten did not wear the surplice, but supposed that they would conform themselves presently; so that he thought there would be no need to certify of them; namely, Heath, Vicar of Risborough, and four more. Mr. Welches, Curate of Little Waldingfield, neither hath nor will observe the order; and for that cause had given over the cure. Mr. Joh. Handeston, Curate of St. James's parish in Bury, refused to wear the surplice, not in the time of the service only, but also in the administration of the Sacrament; saying, that by law he thought not himself bound to wear it. In the archdeaconry of Sudbury, seven had not observed the order, but five of them promised a conformity, requiring a respite of time. In the deanery of Spargham were two refusers of conformity. In the deanery of Fleg two. In the deanery of Ingworth one. In the deanery of Holt one. In the deanery of Walsingham one. In the deanery of Lenn eight. In the deanery of Brisley two.

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The certificate of a Commissary of Suffolk.

This also was the certificate made by Nic. Lock, Commissary within the archdeaconry of Suffolk, of all such as had refused to use and observe the order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and the Queen's Injunctions for the celebration of divine service, and administration of sacraments, (which certificate was also sent up to the Archbishop,) *viz.*

"James Rosier, Vicar of Wynston, doth refuse to use "and observe as abovesaid; but answereth that he will, so "far as the word doth allow, with other circumstances: "whereupon he is suspended from the ministration of di-"vine service.

"John Champyn, Vicar of Whersted, hath refused to "use and observe as abovesaid.

"Will. Record, Parson of St. James's in South Elme-"ham, doth desire deliberation unto the feast of St. Mat-"thew the Apostle, to make answer; because his conscience "as yet is not fully persuaded what to do.

"Many churches as yet have no surplices: but the Min-

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"isters have consented to wear them so soon as they be "provided.

"Some Ministers were absent at the time of inquisition; "but as soon as they may be convented, your Honour shall "be certified of them which dissent.

"Will. Plater, of Saturley, Esq. and his wife, do refuse "to come to church to hear divine service, and receive the "holy Communion: and so they have continued a long "time." [These were Papists.]

An account of the diocese.

Some further account of the state of this diocese, and how the ministers and laity stood affected towards conformity, may be understood by a letter sent from the Bishop to the Archbishop in the month of January, after this inquisition and search of it was pretty well over.

The Bishop to the Archbishop. E MSS. R. P. Joh. Ep. Elien.

"My duty unto your Grace humbly remembered. I do "send unto you by this bringer the certificate for the arch-"deaconry of Sudbury, whereby your Grace may see, "there be not many wilful bodies of the Clergy: and those "for the most part have promised conformity. In the "archdeaconry of Suffolk are very few, or none at all, but "that be well willing to be ordered; and so have I been "certified, without naming of any person particularly. "Wherefore I trust your Grace, nor any others of author-"ity, shall have any great ado with the Clergy of my dio-"cese: I fear rather the laity will be more busy. For even "now of late I heard, that the town of Lynn, with their "Minister, Mr. Sanderson, have openly impugned the or-"der of the Book. For on Christmas-day last, as I heard, "some of the Aldermen came to the church in their "scarlets, and some would not: and in the town some "shops were set open, and some shops up. Certain eat "flesh that day, and others eat fish: with many other "abuses which I let pass at this time, because I neither "know them of certainty, and besides, I know they will "come to your Grace and the Council otherwise, if you be "not advertised already.

453 "The Commissioners and I have sent our letters to the

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"Council, but not any particulars, because they were un-
"known.

Anno 1573.

"I have, by order from my Lord Dyer, ended the
"controversy between Mr. Scot and Waller; and have
"awarded Mr. Scot the younger the same vicarage, being
"of my nomination: I hope both the parties be reasonably
"well pleased, &c."

A dispute arises about wafer-bread.

A great question now arose, or rather was renewed, in Norfolk, as well as in other places, what bread ought to be used in the Communion; partly occasioned by Sergeant Flowerdew: who, in his charge the last sessions, made mention of common bread to be used by authority of the statute. This the Bishop of the diocese signified to his Metropolitan at the same time he wrote his letter last mentioned, dated Jan. 21, shewing him, how men were hereby in doubt what to do; especially remembering what the Queen had said to the Archbishop and other the Bishops, when they had been not long before in her presence, in exposition, as it seems, of her own Injunctions; which was in effect to continue the use of the wafer-bread. And accordingly, in obedience hereto, he did use that sort of bread in his church at Ludham. Of this therefore he desired the Archbishop's advice to be signified to him.

The Archbishop's directions to the Bishop of Norwich thereupon.

All that I find answered by the Archbishop to him in this matter was, that in a letter to this Bishop, wrote in May 1574, he hath these words: "You would needs be
"informed by me, whether I would warrant you either
"loaf-bread or wafer-bread: and yet you know the Queen's
"pleasure: you have her Injunctions; and you have also
"the Service-book. And furthermore, because I would
"deal brotherly with you, I wrote in my last letters how
"I used in my diocese for peace-sake and quietness. I
"would your Lordship and others were nearer, to hear
"what is said sometimes;" [meaning, I suppose, by the Queen, in displeasure towards some of the Bishops.] On the other hand, the Bishop, in excuse of himself for requiring so earnestly his judgment and direction herein, shewed his Grace the great contentions and unquiet disputes that arose

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Bishop of Norwich's letter, June 6, 1574.

hence in his diocese. "If your Grace, said he, did hear "and see what contention and heart-burning is kindled in "many places, and what earnest disputes are maintained "abroad for the bread, either part diversely affected; the "one alleging the Book, the other her Majesty's Injunc-"tions; the one affirming this, the other that, to be of "more force; in such dangerous, bitter, and daily striving, "your Grace would think it not impertinent for me to "wish a certainty; and one way to be set down for every "body, by such as are placed in high authority."

But the grave Archbishop did not think it advisable positively to determine this matter at present, but rather to leave it as it was; lest perhaps the Queen might be offended, as an infringement of her Injunctions. And therefore he again gave this gentle advice to the same Bishop, in relation to the contentions of some for wafer-bread and loaf-bread; "That if the order he had taken" [to allow of it in some places and for a time] "would not suffice them, "they might fortune hereafter to wish they had been more "conformable. And he furthermore told the Bishop, he "trusted, that he meant not universally in his diocese to "command the use of the loaf-bread, or to wink at it, but "only for peace and quietness here and there to be con-"tented that it might be used."

Prophesyings.

And these were the chief of the matters that passed this year in the diocese of Norwich; whereof the Archbishop took cognizance. The next year the Archbishop had further business in this diocese, namely, concerning the *prophesyings* there used; which (however good in themselves) were so illy managed, that they gave offence to the Queen, and as it seems to the Archbishop too: which we shall relate in due place.

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CHAP. XXXVI. 454

The Council's letter to the Bishops for a parochial visitation, to inquire into the conformity of the Clergy. York and Ely, their letters to the Archbishop hereupon. Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer, their speeches in the Star-chamber for punishing ecclesiastical disorders. Proposals to the Council for restraining Puritans. Grants made by the Archbishop. A Bishop of St. Asaph consecrated. The Archbishop's letter consolatory to the Lord Treasurer being sick. The life of Bishop Jewel set forth.

THE Queen bore no kindness towards the Puritans; and the accident that befell Hawkins, (stabbed by a Puritan,) made her more jealous of them, and offended with them; which seemed to hasten another command from the Court against them. For the strict proclamation set forth October 20. was in the beginning of November backed with the Council's letters to the Bishops, who were not then so forward to take punishment upon these defaulters, however they were by them requited with much reproach and hatred. The Bishops, by the Queen's command signified to them by the Council, were blamed, that in their visitations and synods they had taken no more care for preventing these disorders; and they were enjoined, by themselves or by their Archdeacons, to make a parochial visitation through their dioceses, the better to see how and where any deviations were made from the prescribed rites, and to punish such as did vary, by the censures of the Church and ecclesiastical laws. The letter to the Bishop of Winchester (the like to which was sent to some, if not all other Bishops) was this:

Anno 1578.

The Bishops blamed for not prosecuting Puritans.

"After our hearty commendation to your Lordship. By "her Majesty's proclamation, dated the 20th of October "last, it appears how careful the Queen's Majesty is, that "the order set forth in the Book of Common Prayer al-"lowed by Parliament in the first year of her Majesty's "reign, should be severely and uniformly kept throughout

Letters of the Council to the Bishops for a parochial visitation. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

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"all this realm; and that the fault why such diversities "have of late been taken up in many churches, and there-"upon contentions and unseemly disputations risen, in her "Highness's opinion, is most in you, to whom the special "care of ecclesiastical matters doth appertain, and who have "your visitations episcopal and archidiaconal, and your "synods, and such other meetings of the Clergy, first and "chiefly ordained for that purpose, to keep all churches in "your diocese in one uniform and godly order; which "now is, as is commonly said, the more is the pity, to "be only used of you and your officers to get money, "or for some other purposes: we, at her Majesty's com-"mandment straitly made to us, are therefore to require "you to take a more vigilant eye to this uniformity, and "to the keeping of the order allowed by the said Par-"liament, and by her Majesty's Injunctions throughout "your diocese; and either by yourself, which were most "fit, or by your Archdeacon, or other able and wise man, "personally to visit and see, that in no one church of your "diocese there be any deformity nor difference used of "these prescribed orders. But if any shall refuse them, or "attempt any other divers or repugnant to them, to call "those persons before you, and, by censures of the Church "and ecclesiastical law, to see them punished. So that "what is required, may be done in the churches of your "diocese without extraordinary and temporal (as it is "called) jurisdiction and judgment; as it may, we think "verily, if diligent care and heed were taken by you their "Pastor and Bishop. For nothing is required, but that "godly and seemly orders, allowed by the Queen's Ma-
455 "jesty and the whole realm, be kept. The which, except "you did wink at and dissemble, there needed not these "new proclamations and strait calling upon.

"Wherefore, if now you would take, for your part, care "and heed, and so the rest of your Fellow-Bishops, the "quiet of the realm might soon be purchased in our mind "touching any such matters; which should be great plea-"sure to her Majesty, and comfort unto us. The neglect-

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"ing whereof, how grievous it will be to her Highness, "and what danger may be to you, her Highness hath ex-"pressed in the said proclamation. Thus praying you to "consider these things, and withal speedily to put order in "them, and from time to time to certify us what you have "done herein, to the fulfilling of her Majesty's desire, we "bid you most heartily farewell. From Greenwich, 7. Nov. "1573.

"W. Burghley. E. Lincoln. T. Sussex. F. Knollys.
"James Croft. R. Leycester. T. Smyth."

The Bishops troubled at this letter.

The Bishops did not like this letter: they thought it hard that the blame of these disorders should be thus laid upon them without difference; and the labour and drudgery of punishing and reforming them, as it was irksome, so it would render them odious, put them under the infamous name of persecutors, and after all, be more than they could compass without the temporal authority; which they would rather should have been exercised about this work, as seeming, in their judgment, only able to restrain those practices. But this would not be granted. They were also here in this letter broadly accused to have minded little else in their visitations than their own covetous ends. And therefore perhaps some of their greatest enemies signed it: such were the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys; otherwise well enough affected towards those persons against whom this letter was written. But however the Bishops obeyed. And in London I find a visitation was made of every parish, and an inquisition how conformity to the established rites were observed, and what separate meetings there were; as we heard before how the like was done in the diocese of Norwich.

But to shew what sense the Bishops had of this, may appear by Grindal Archbishop of York's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote in the beginning of December.

The Archbishop of York to the

"The late proclamation, and the Council's late letter, "seem to lay a very heavy burden upon our shoulders;

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Anno 1573. Archbishop of Canterbury about it; MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"and that generally and equally, without respect of difference, [in accusing them of neglect in their places,] whereas indeed there is not like occasion given of all. I assure your Grace, it is to me a great grief, and should have been tenfold greater, had they not thereby so well beaten down the other arrogant innovating spirits; which I trust shall work some benefit to the Church, if the captains be not countenanced, as they have been, by those that are now Bishops. In very deed, in my diocese that uniform order allowed by the Book, &c. is universally observed. I think some of my province have some novelties: I have writ to them to reform without delay, or else I will ——— If my successor at London have ministered any occasion of his own disquiet, I am sorry. But certainly the Bishop of London is always to be pitied. For if [burning] were the penalty of these curiosities, yet should he never lack a number of that generation. I think long to hear what should follow of this inquisition [of a parochial visitation] at London. God send us all humble and quiet spirits, and thankfully to acknowledge God's great mercy to us. To whose tuition I heartily recommend your Grace. From Bishopthorp, 9. of Decemb. 1573.

"Your Grace's in Christ,

"Edm. Ebor."

And the Bishop of Ely to the same. MSS. ubi supra.

And as the Archbishop of York had sent this letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, occasioned by those letters of the Council, and that proclamation abovesaid; so the Bishop of Ely, an ancient, grave, and wise man, sent the Archbishop another: wherein he observed with what little respect the Bishops were treated, and how hated; and in 456 what good condition he hoped to find his diocese, when he should make his inquiry among the Clergy about their conformity, as the Council's letter required. But behold the Bishop of Ely's letter:

"*Sal. in Christo.* I thank your Grace for your letters. "If I, your Grace, and some mo were gone indeed,

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" there would be cheer; as is spoken of in the Apocalypse, " ch. ii. *The heathen rejoiced, and sent gifts one to an-* " *other, because the two prophets were slain. Acies arma-* " *tur contra testes veritatis, Romanorum, Catharorum, et* " *Atheistarum. At Dominus nobis Adjutor, pessum eat* " *exercitus Satanæ.* I live, and shall, till my gracious Cap- " tain call me to a better [life], which I thank his goodness " is my daily meditation. Marry, when I think of the de- " formities of God's Church in England, how her Majesty, " *tam magnificè de Ecclesia merita*, is dishonoured, how " the true travellers in God's harvest are rewarded, I some- " times muse at the matter. But it is no new thing. *Ergo* " *Dom. illuminatio, et quæ sequuntur.*

" I thank your Grace for tendering the infirmities of our " weak daughter, [married to the Archbishop's son,] yet I " do not mislike her nature herein. In case my port being " there may be any countenance of good to be done, I will " not long linger. I must have some shew to her Majesty, " ye know well.

" Touching my diocese, I trust to find it in better order " than London, the Universities, and many countries be- " side. I dare not compare with Kent," [where the Arch- bishop took such care, being his diocese.] " The commis- " sion of *Oyer* I fully understand. I fear there be many " of the physicians [*i. e.* Commissioners] sick. I pray your " Grace that the proclamation for uniformity of service, " &c. may be sent to all Bishops, with plenty of copies for " all parishes within their dioceses. I sent your Grace a " simple writing of my zeal: I am desirous to have it " again. *Dominus Jesus pietatem tuam Ecclesiæ suæ diu-* " *tissimè servet incolumem.* From Somersham, December " 5, 1573.

" Your Grace's assured,

" Richarde Ely."

The speeches of the Lord Keeper and Lord Trea-

Besides all that was done this year to stop the strange prevailing of these enemies of the Liturgy and hierarchy, as the Queen had before, in the beginning of the term, ap-

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pointed the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, to declare her proceedings in the Star-chamber, who then shewed by notable reasons the great commodities growing by the execution of the laws ecclesiastical; so again, the latter end of November, the Lord Treasurer made an excellent speech in the same Star-chamber, by the Queen's command, requiring therein all in the late commission, now going down into their several countries, to execute the laws upon the offenders. I will exemplify the said speech as I took it from the Treasurer's own hand in one of the Cotton volumes.

Treasurer in the Star-chamber.

Cott. Librar. Tit. B. 2.

"*Nov.* 28, 1573. *Star-chamber. The Queen's Majesty's* "*commandment to declare in the Star-chamber, on* "*Monday, these things following.*

The Queen's authority and charge.

"First, That she doth consider, her charge committed "to her by God is, to see to the government of her people, "to serve God, and to obey her laws.

Unity of minds and outward conversation.

"And for that she doth understand by divers means, "that of late years, by negligence of the Bishops and "Clergy, having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, there are in "sundry parts of her realm entered into ordinary cures "of souls, that is, into rectories, vicarages, and such like, "and into places of preaching and reading, a number of "persons young in years, but over-young in soundness of "learning and discretion, which according to their own "imaginations and conceits, and not according to the pub-"lic order established by law, having not only in the com-"mon services of the church, and in the administration of "sacraments, made sundry alterations, but also, by their "example and teaching, have enticed their parochians, and "their auditories, being her Majesty's subjects, to conceive "erroneous opinions, in condemning the whole government "of the Church and order ecclesiastical, and in moving her "Majesty's good subjects, to think it a burden of con-"science to observe the orders and rites of the Church "established by law; a matter pernicious to the state of "government, that her Majesty cannot, for the charge

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"committed to her by Almighty God, but by speedy good "means procure the stay of the danger that must needs fol- "low, and provide for the reformation.

457 Declaration in the beginning of the term.

"Whereupon her Majesty did, in the beginning of this "term, cause it to be published by her proclamation, that "she will have the laws made in her time, for the order of "divine service of Almighty God, straitly observed, and "the offenders duly punished. And for the more effectual "execution of the said laws, her Majesty hath also caused "certain commissions to be made under the Great Seal of "England to certain persons of trust in the several coun- "ties of her realm, whereof the Archbishop and Bishops "are the principal; to inquire, hear, and determine spe- "cially of the offences committed in this behalf against the "said laws. And although her Majesty did, in the begin- "ning of this term, cause her proceedings to be here in "this place declared by the Lord Keeper of the Great "Seal; who did also in her Majesty's name, very gravely "and earnestly, with sundry great reasons, notify to the "hearers the great commodities that might grow by the "good execution of the said laws, and the incommodities "and mischiefs by the contrary: yet her Majesty hearing "daily of the increase of these errors, and of the violent "and audacious attempts of many that are infected with "these corrupt opinions, tending to the violation of laws "without offence of their consciences, and therewith also "thinking that this term-time hath stayed many here which "are by her Majesty especially authorized by her commis- "sion, and now are to repair into their several countries; "hath thought it necessary to have her intentions reite- "rated in this manner: and hath further commanded me, "in the absence of the Lord Keeper, (though I am thereto "unable,) to express her Majesty's earnest care that she "hath for the reformation of these disorders and erroneous "corruptions, by deeds and doctrine of her good people.

Commissions sent out.

Causes to reiterate.

"And so her Majesty would have you all to understand, "that as she herself cannot be quiet in her conscience "without earnest prosecuting the reformation hereof; so

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"shall she not think that any her subjects, and especially such as have by their offices authority to execute her laws provided for these causes, worthy to live under her protection, or anywise to enjoy her favour, that shall directly or indirectly maintain any person to alter or change, by example or doctrines, the orders of the Church established by her laws.

Order for the Injunctions to be observed.

"And further her Majesty willeth, that it be also remembered unto you, that where by authority of act of Parliament she hath caused at several times, since the beginning of her reign, certain Injunctions and other orders to be published by advice of her Clergy, for the uniform government of the Church, and for the usage of certain rites in the same, she hath given charge to her Archbishop and Bishops, and other Ordinaries, to see to the due execution of the same: and that you the Commissioners, and other Justices, in your several places, shall do your endeavour to cause the same to be by all persons, to whom the same shall belong, to be observed according as the said Bishops and Ordinaries shall prescribe.

"Furthermore, her Majesty, fearing that these pernicious doctrines, by their long sufferance, and by the applauding thereto of some in offices, both ecclesiastical and temporal, might have in some sort infected or touched the minds of some persons of value and note in certain countries; yea, and of some that percase are nominated in the commissions, to think that these doctrines of alteration or varieties are not so perilous as her Majesty doth conceive them; but that they are but of the nature of some arguments or disputations; or that some may be moved to think, that in some parts these innovators have cause to find lacks with some parts of the rites of the Church, as though they be not so perfect as the imaginations of the innovators would have them: for this purpose, to the better information of such, if any be so deceived, her Majesty hath commanded me for the first, that is, to make it manifest, that the perils are such, and

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"so great, as her Majesty judgeth them, thus to declare "unto you:

"That first, it cannot be unknown to all that have any "taste of rule, no, not to any that hath but a family to "rule, or a ship to govern, but that if the party that hath "charge to command, and they whom he shall command "shall fall to such a difference, as the governor conti-"nuing his course by the ordinary rules established, and 458 "the persons underneath him shall not only forbear to fol-"low his directions, but shall among themselves condemn "them, and shall devise others of their own imaginations; "yea, shall among themselves devise a new variety of or-"ders, so as they shall even among themselves contend "about their own inventions, not agreeing one part with "another; yea, shall I add that which her Majesty findeth "to be too true, if some shall, when they have fantasied "new orders at one time, at another time mislike their "own; in such confused disorders of any government, "what may be thought must ensue to that state? what "shall become of that head or governor? and what of "those persons that by government ought to be preserved? "Shall the governor continue head of that estate where he "shall not be obeyed? Shall the persons themselves be "preserved by that kind of government where every mem-"ber will direct several orders? This matter being thus "projected to you but in words, will you consider how it "may be felt in deeds? For as it may be in ships sailing "in tempests, or in a private man's family, or in some "small corporate towns too often seen; that by this dis-"order many rich ships with their lading and people, "many houses with lords, servants, and children, and many "ancient corporate towns, have been drowned, wasted, and "brought to nought and beggary; so, comparing small "with great, many estates of realms and kingdoms be over-"thrown, or at least may be troubled and shaken. And if "disorder, if dissension, if contention, may bring these pe-"rils in civil causes, what ought not to be greatlier feared "in spiritual; I mean, in causes of religion and of con-

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"science? I will not trouble you with examples; but yet "may I not for duty omit such example, as her Majesty "herself hath remembered, both to her whole Council at "sundry times of late, and to me, to be uttered." But here this paper, the more is the pity, imperfectly breaks off.

There was somebody about this time, as near as I can guess, that made certain propositions to the Council for the restraint of the Puritans. Which paper was as followeth:

Propositions for restraint of Puritans. MSS. G. Petyt. Armig.

"The reasons why these lawless Puritans do so obstinately offend, and break all the ecclesiastical laws and canons of the church, is, for that the whole moiety of the forfeiture of every offence (which should have bridled their unruly affections) is given by statute wholly to her Majesty, and no part thereof to any that shall give information of any offence by them committed. By reason whereof there is no information or suit commenced against any of the offenders. Which hath so emboldened them, that they are careless of all obedience to the ecclesiastical government, being maintained and countenanced by a number that seem to be of great purity in religion, sounding like an empty tub, being delighted with new devices and innovations, and forgetting all duty and reverence to God, their Prince, and country. For remedy whereof it shall please your Honours to take these orders:

"First, Let every Bishop in his diocese suffer none to preach, but such as can give good testimony of their learning, good behaviour, and conformity.

"Secondly, That every Minister and Preacher within this realm enter into bonds to her Majesty, with two good sufficient sureties, in 200*l.* to use, observe, and keep, in all points to the uttermost of their powers, the Book of Common Prayer, according to a statute made in the first year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, entitled, *An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church, and the Administration of the Sacraments:* and also to obey, observe, and keep, all such constitutions, decrees, and orders, as now are made, or hereafter

"shall be made and set forth by common authority. This "bond will terrify them more than all the laws and orders "that can or may be made. For they will be jealous of their "bonds, and their sureties will always have a careful eye "upon them, that they fall not into the danger of the for-"feiture, lest the Bishops should certify them into the Ex-"chequer.

"Thirdly, If any shall obstinately refuse to enter into "bonds to obey such order as shall be set down by com-"mon authority, then the Bishop of the diocese shall pre-459 "sently commit the party so refusing to prison, till he sub-"mit himself, or otherwise to deprive him of all his eccle-"siastical living, according to her Majesty's Injunctions in "that behalf appointed; and not to suffer the party so re-"fusing, to preach or teach, till he have submitted himself, "and be sufficiently licensed by the Bishop accordingly.

"Last of all, I wish that every Preacher and Minister "do every Sunday and holyday wear the surplice and hood "publicly in the church, according to his degreeand call-"ing: which thing would greatly increase the credit of the "Ministers of England; and also daunt the hearts of the "Papists, to see the Church of England so furnished with "such a number of worthy learned men.

"These orders being dutifully put in execution, will not "only bring all the Preachers and Ministers of this realm "to honour, love, and fear their Dioceasans, but also draw "the people of the land to have good opinion of their "Preachers and Ministers, and to use them with rever-"ence." These were some of the busy transactions with the Puritans this year.

But to draw to a close of this year, after I shall have taken up a few scattered things.

Grants of the Archbishop to his sons.

Nov. 25. The office of keeping the palace in Canterbury, and of certain woods, was granted by the Archbishop to John Parker and Matthew Parker, his sons. Also to them were granted the advowson of the parsonage of Orpington. Also, the office of surveying the Archbishop's lands

N. Battely.

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was granted to Peter March and John Parker. There was a patent also granted for keeping the Covet woods, to Matthew Parker, and William Whiting, Gentleman, who lived in a fair house of his own building within a mile of Covet wood, and of whom the Archbishop purchased an house in Bekesborn. The keepership of this wood was not worth above 18*l.* per annum at the utmost extent. To these grants, I will add a dispensation granted this year in April, to John Parker, A. M. Whether this were the Archbishop's son, and the Bishop of Ely's son-in-law, or some other relation, I am at a stand. But perhaps he was John Parker, his uncle's son. He had the favour both of the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely. For the dispensation runs, *Ut cum archidiaconatu Eliens. et rectoria de Stretham Elien. dioc. possit recipere tertium cum clausulis permutandi*, &c.

The Bishop of St. Asaph consecrated.

Decemb. 12. was William Hughs, D. D. confirmed Bishop of St. Asaph, at Bow church, before Dr. Yale. His consecration was the day after, at Lambeth chapel; when, morning prayer being said by Matthew Allen, his Grace's Chaplain, and Blaige, another of his Chaplains, preaching a sermon, the Archbishop consecrated him, assisted by Robert, Bishop of Winton, and Richard, Bishop of Chichester.

Writes to the Lord Treasurer, being sick, a pious letter.

In the said month of December, a sore fit of sickness, occasioned by the gout, happened to the Archbishop's great friend and correspondent, the Lord Treasurer; which occasioned him to write a grave and consolatory letter to the said Lord, dated December 30, to this effect:

"Sir,

"For that Almighty God, whose pleasure is always "most to be regarded and obeyed, hath mercifully visited "your body with sickness, I doubt not but ye have *unc-* "*tionem Sp. Sancti internam*, to accept it patiently, as "frail nature can bear it. I am persuaded, *quod hæc mo-* "*mentanea carnis afflictio æternum et immensum gloriæ*

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"*pondus operabitur*. And though that, in respect of your-
"self, it were the very best ye continued still your desire
"to be dissolved, *et esse cum Christo;* yet for the com-
"monwealth's sake, I doubt not ye be indifferent to say
"with that ancient man, *Si populo tuo, O Domine, adhuc*
"*sum necessarius, non recuso laborem*. So that ye may be
"able to believe with St. Paul, who saith, *quod mihi vita*
"*Christus est*, if ye live; and if ye be dissolved, to affirm
"that his further saying, *et mori lucrum*. Thus not mind-
"ing to trouble your Honour with long writing, I commit
"your good recovery to Almighty God in my prayers,
"whereof I do partly hear and thank his mercy. From
"my house at Lambeth, &c.

"Your assured orator in Christ,
"Matthue Cantuar."

460 Humfrey sets out the life of Jewel.

In this year was the holy and useful life of Jewel, late Bishop of Salisbury, set forth by Dr. Laurence Humfrey, and dedicated by him to the Bishop of London. This great and good man, being thirteen years of age, was admitted as pupil under Peter Burry, Fellow of Merton college, Oxon. and Vicar of Croyden, anno 1535. Which vicarage being then offered him, when Jewel first came to Oxford, Burry committed his pupil to the care of John Parkhurst, afterward Bishop of Norwich, happily falling under his tuition, Burry being a man but of mean learning, and very zealous for the old superstitions; with whom Parkhurst held disputes of those points very often. Jewel, we may presume, was imbued with good principles under that tutor. He was afterwards Fellow of Corpus Christi college, where John Moren, alias Morwin, was also Fellow; a man morose and addicted to drink, but well learned in Greek. He would say to Jewel, "I would love thee, Jewel, if thou wert not a "Zuinglian." And again, "Thou art an heretic in faith, "but in life thou seemest an angel." And again, *Honestus es, at Lutheranus*. Jewel became a great tutor, and had for his pupils many of note, good gentlemen, and merchants' sons. Some of these were Gilford, Fettiplace,

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Townsend, Curson, More, Dolman, Denton, Hickford, Waldeby, Prinn, Aune, Anth. Parkhurst. Jewel went out Master of Art 1544, by Parkhurst's assistance and liberality. And while the said Parkhurst was incumbent of the rich rectory of Cleves in Gloucestershire, he used to come often to Oxford to hear his pupil's lectures, as his pupil had often heard his before. These are some extracts out of Humfrey's said book of this holy Bishop's life, upon his first beginnings to shine out in the world, while he was in the University. The world is beholden to the Archbishop, and Bishop of London, for the preservation of Jewel's memory by Humfrey's pen: for they wrote to him to Oxford to undertake it, having a good Latin style; and supplied him, as it seems, with materials. Insomuch that he dedicated his book to them, and therein acknowledged, that it was in a manner by their labour and benefit that Jewel was come to light and life again.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Archbishop forbids prophesying in Norwich diocese. A letter to that Bishop from some of the Council, allowing it. The Archbishop's message to him hereupon. Prophecies are forbid. The Archbishop's counsel to the Bishop of Norwich. He dies. Dr. Styward Custos Spiritualitatis.

Anno 1574. The Archbishop forbids prophesyings in Norwich diocese.

THERE were about these times *prophesyings* set up in divers of the dioceses, and particularly in that of Norwich. These *prophesyings*, how good and profitable soever they were in themselves, became much abused. Their first intent was, that Ministers, at appointed times of public meeting in certain churches convenient, should severally, one after another, handle and interpret particular texts of holy Scripture allotted them; and one of the gravest of them, as moderator, at last to repeat the heads and substance of what had been discoursed, with his own determination. But

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many of these Ministers took occasion here to vent controversies concerning matters of Church discipline, and to call in question the establishment of this Church by episcopacy; others were forward to shew their parts to the contempt of others; insomuch, that much disturbance and disquietment was often raised hereby, to the spoiling of the good design of these exercises, which was for the edification of the people, and for the promoting of study and knowledge in the Clergy. The Queen hearing how they were managed in the diocese of Norwich, utterly disliked them, and commanded the Archbishop to give order to put them down. Whereupon, in a letter to one Matchet, his Chaplain, Parson of Thurgarton in this diocese, he directed him to repair to his Ordinary, and to shew him how the Queen had willed him [the Archbishop] to suppress those *vain prophesyings*, as he called them: and that thereupon he required the said Ordinary, in her Majesty's name, immediately to discharge them of any further such doings. This was not acceptable to the Bishop, and caused some arguing and several letters this year between him and the Archbishop, though he at last complied. I shall set down what I find in this matter.

March 25, 1574. 461

The Bishop of Norwich, in the beginning of April, writ to his Grace, that he had seen his letter to Matchet, and the order therein to him; but taking hold of the word *vain* annexed to *prophesyings*, he desired to be resolved, whether he meant thereby the abuse of some *vain* speeches used in some of these conferences, or else generally the whole order of those exercises. Of which he signified freely his own approbation, saying, "That they had, and still did bring "singular benefit to the Church of God, as well in the "clergy as the laity; and was a right necessary exercise to "be continued, so the same were not abused; as indeed it "had not been, unless in one or two places at the most. "Whereof after he had knowledge, he writ an earnest letter "to his Chancellor, that such persons as were over busy "speakers should be put to silence, unless they would sub-"scribe to the Articles of conformity in religion, or else pro-"mise not to intermeddle with any matter established and

The Bishop of Norwich to the Archbishop hereupon.

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Anno 1574.

"commanded by her Majesty: which was performed accordingly. Since which time he had not heard but all things have succeeded quietly, without offence to any."

It heated the good Archbishop a little, that the Bishop was willing so to interpret his word *vain*, as if he meant to uphold some of these *prophesyings*. And the Archbishop, the next opportunity, told him, that it was one of his old griefs, that this Bishop had shewn his letters unto his own friends, who had qualified them with their own senses put upon them, to elude his true meaning. And that they had now given him counsel to stand upon the word *vain*. "And "it is pity," added he, "we should shew any vanity in our "obedience."

Some Privy Counsellors' letter to Norwich to continue the prophesyings.

But in the mean time the said Bishop had found means to acquaint some of the Privy Council with the Archbishop's order; nay, and procured their letters (or at least letters came from them) to hold up these *prophesyings*; as it were to the annulling the Archbishop's jurisdiction in his province, and that in a command backed by the Queen's authority. The Counsellors' letter was to this tenor:

"*Salutem in Christo*. Whereas we understand that there "are certain good exercises of prophesying and expounding of Scriptures in Norfolk, as namely, at Holt town, and "other places; whereby both speakers and hearers do profit much in the knowledge of the word of God: and "whereas some, not well minded towards true religion and "the knowledge of God, speak evil and slanderously of "these exercises, as commonly they use to do even against "the sincere preaching of God's holy word: these are to require your Lordship, that so long as the truth is godly "and reverently uttered in this prophesying, and that no "seditious, heretical, or schismatical doctrine, tending to the "disturbance of the peace of the Church, can be proved to "be taught or maintained in the same, that so good an help "and means to further true religion may not be hindered "and stayed, but may proceed and go forward, to God's "glory, and the edifying of the people. Thus not doubting

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"of your forwardness herein, your office and calling duti-
"fully requiring the same at your hands, we bid your Lord-
"ship right heartily farewell.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,

"T. Smith. Ed. London.
"Wa. Mildmay. Fr. Knollys."

From London, this 6th of May, 1574.

The Archbishop requires the Council's warrant for this letter of theirs.

Here was a command, from some of the Council, in effect reversing the Archbishop's. And what was for him now to do? Does he desist? No, but like a resolute Metropolitan, while he acts within the bounds of his function, goes forward: and a little after he had heard of this letter, he takes no notice of it to these Counsellors, but despatcheth one to the Bishop, in order, as it seems, to the making the Queen acquainted with this opposition both to him and her Majesty too; *viz.* that he understood he [the Bishop] had received letters to continue that exercise that was used in his diocese, contrary to the commandment that the Queen's Majesty willed him [the Archbishop] to send to all his brethren of the province: praying him therefore to signify unto him what their warrant was.

Archbishop's letter, dated May 17.

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Signified by Norwich to the Bishop of London.

The Bishop of Norwich upon this takes the safest course, by writing to the Bishop of London, one of the Privy Counsellors, to instruct him what answer to give to the Archbishop, since her Majesty had commanded him to write to all his brethren of this province, to the contrary of what the said Counsellors had required of him. He prayed him therefore for his friendly advice, that neither his duty might be neglected in answering his Grace's request, to know their warrant in so writing to him; nor that the answer he should make might be such as might offend their Lordships that writ for the continuance of that godly exercise of expounding the Scriptures.

This business, I perceive, went no further: the Archbishop's letter was obeyed: and the Bishop sent this order to his Chancellor from Ludham, the 7th of June, for the suppression of these prophecies: *viz.*

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The Bishop's order to suppress prophesyings.

"After my hearty commendations: whereas by the receipt of my Lord of Canterbury's letter, I am commanded by him, in the Queen her Majesty's name, that the prophesyings throughout my diocese should be suppressed; these are therefore to will you, that, as conveniently as you may, you give notice to every of my Commissaries, that they, in their several circuits, may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God."

The Archbishop's advice to him.

And of his giving this order the Bishop also certified the Archbishop; who hereupon gave him this friendly and fatherly counsel: "My Lord, be not you led by fantastical folk——I mean not to desire your Lordship not to take counsel, but not to take such young men to counsel, as when they have endangered you, they cannot bring you out of trouble. Of my care I have to you, and to the diocese, I write thus much."

Bishop of Norwich dies.

Dr. Styward sues to be Chancellor of the bishopric.

The Bishop of Norwich died the latter end of this year, about Candlemas. Dr. Styward, of Cambridge, was then made *Custos Spiritualitatis* at Norwich. And the chancellorship becoming vacant, some eminent person from Cambridge (perhaps Dr. Perne, who this year was Vice-Chancellor) wrote to the Archbishop to bestow that office upon him; and the rather, because he was a man that seemed very proper, by his learning and stout conduct, to reduce that diocese, greatly disordered, into better rule and behaviour: of which we shall hear more in the sequel.

The hospital of Acle.

And for a farewell to this Bishop of Norwich, I shall mention a very good work in a town in his diocese, wherein he with other well disposed gentlemen were concerned; and wherein, I am apt to think, the Archbishop himself had a great hand. At Acle in Norfolk, an hospital was bought at the charges of the limits adjoining: where, after the manner of a bridewell, there was appointed work and punishment. There this Bishop, with certain gentlemen and others, met every three weeks, on the market day. First, they repaired to church, and heard prayers and a sermon; and then returning to their inn, dined together. Between sermon ended and dinner, they went to this house, to examine and observe

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how things were managed. After dinner, the chief constable informed of any disorders within the hundred, for redress thereof. And if there were any controversies between neighbours, here they were made up. Many there were in the county that spurned at this good work, inwardly vexing that such good works should be done in the time of the Gospel. For the encouragement of it, several had dealt with Secretary Walsingham to procure a letter from the Council to the gentry of that county to countenance the same. Which affair that good Secretary heartily espoused, calling this house, *An house of Reformation*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Anno 1574.

Secretary Walsingham's letter.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 463

Dr. Whitgift preaches at Court. His reply to Cartwright comes forth. Cartwright answered by another. Mass said in London. Popish fugitives, their malice. Exposition upon the Sunday Lessons by the Bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the Archbishop. A conspiracy against the Lord Treasurer and him. Has a fit of the stone. A pretended possession; discovered by the Archbishop. The cheats do penance.

I OBSERVE this year, 1574, the notice that was taken at Court of Dr. Whitgift; especially since his entering the list so successfully against the Puritans. He was appointed to preach before the Queen in Lent; and his turn was March 26. His text was in John vi. *Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered and said unto them, Verily, I say unto you, Ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracle, but because ye did eat of the loaves*, &c. Which sermon was put in print.

Whitgift preaches a Lent course at Court.

This learned man's Defence of his Answer to the Admonition against the Reply of Thomas Cartwright came forth early this year. It was printed in folio, by Henry Binneman, for Humfrey Toye. He began his epistle to the

His Defence of his book against Cartwright comes forth.

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reader with this solemn protestation in behalf of the Church of England: "This I dare boldly affirm, that all points of "religion necessary to salvation, and touching either the "mystery of our redemption in Christ, or the right use of "sacraments, and true manner of worshipping God, are as "purely and perfectly taught, and by public authority "established in this Church of England at this day, as ever "they were in any church sithence the Apostles' time, or "now be in any reformed Church in the world." And he concludes his said epistle with this solemn advice, glancing therein at Cartwright and his friends; "I do charge all "men before God and his angels, as they will answer at "the day of judgment, that under the pretence of zeal "they seek not the spoil of the Church; under the colour "of perfection they work not confusion; under the cloak "of simplicity they cover not pride, ambition, vainglory, "arrogancy; under the outward shew of godliness they "nourish not contempt of magistrates, popularity, ana-"baptistry, and sundry other pernicious and pestilent er-"rors." The method of this book is, that first are set down at length, paragraph by paragraph, Whitgift's answers to the Admonition; then Cartwright's answers to Whitgift; and lastly, Whitgift's replies. A book that right learnedly and fully vindicated the Church of England in the rites and government of it; and had the careful inspection of the Archbishop, and other Bishops and learned men, before it passed abroad.

Another answer to Cartwright's Reply.

Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift received another answer this year, by an author nameless; printed also by Binneman: this was digested in a small octavo, that it being of a less bulk and price might be bought and read of greater numbers of people. This book is entitled, A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment. It began thus: "It was my hap "not long sithence to light upon a slender pamphlet enti-"tled, A Reply to an Answer made by D. Whitgift, &c. "Which, at the first blush, for divers causes, brought me "into expectation of some great and weighty causes, where-"of it behoved the whole body of the realm to be informed.

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"For who would think that a man of Mr. Cartwright's "study and continuance would encounter with so strong an "adversary? that a loyal subject, as he ought to be, would "undermine a state so well established? or, last of all, a "man so well qualified in all his doings, as he would seem "to be, use such bitter, vehement, and untemperate speeches, "as he hath done, unless the truth were manifestly and ap-"parently on his side?" The book treated on these distinct heads, which contained the sum of the controversy. I. That sacrificing Priests may be Ministers of the Gospel. II. Of apparel of Ministers. III. Of Bishops' titles, lands, &c. IV. Of an Archbishop. V. Of Bishops' livings. VI. That 464 Bishops may intermeddle in civil causes. VII. Of dispensations. VIII. Of the Presbytery. IX. Of kneeling at the Communion. X. Of holydays. XI. Of mourning for the dead. XII. That Ministers ought to bury the dead. XIII. Of women's veils. XIV. Of interrogatories ministered to infants. XV. Of the sign of the cross. XVI. Of fasting. XVII. Of singing. All very aptly treated of.

Massmongers taken.

The Papists had nowadays their Mass said to them very frequently; and in many places in and about London. And some of the places where Mass was said being well known by certain intelligence, persons were sent by the city magistrate's order, at one hour and in one day, (which was April 4,) to seize such as should be present there, and presumed to do contrary to the Queen's laws. At the Lady Morley's chamber, by Aldgate, Mass was said; and there were seized there the Lady Morley, Sir Edw. Stanley, the Lady Margaret Jarman, Dolman the Priest, and about nineteen or twenty besides. Another Mass was said at the Lady Guildford's in Trinity Lane, beside Queenhithe, the same day; the Lady Guildford, and Benet Guildford, the said lady's daughter, and Mr. Guildford her son, and Oliver Heywood, Priest, and about eight more, seized. And the same day was Mass ready to be said at Mr. Carus's, at the Limehouse beside London, found by the Recorder of the City of London, not at Mass, but all things prepared for the celebration of it. Then were taken Tho. Carus,

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BOOK IV. Esquire, and his wife; Mrs. Grissel Carow, daughter to Mr. Justice Carow; Thornborow, Esquire, and Adria his wife; the Lady Brown, and some others.

Anno 1574.

The malice of the English fugitives;

And as the Papists were thus confident at home, (which opened the magistrates' eyes to look after them,) so abroad they were as malicious. Thomas Wylson, LL. D. this year was the Queen's Ambassador at Antwerp. From whence he wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer, and therein spake of the English fugitives that remained there, and others, Spanish, favourers of them. And making some reflection upon the kindness and pity the Queen was apt to have for them, he had these words: "That her pitiful and good-"meaning nature was much abused by these crafty foxes. "Surely the Catholic malice is unspeakable. And if I had "not by secret means understood their deep maliciousness, "I would never have believed the same by any common "bare report. God for his mercy defend our Sovereign "from their tyranny." And he wished that some one of understanding were entertained there from England, to advertise of particularities universally, and chiefly for England. The English Catholics did there give out, that King Philip would be a means to the Queen's Majesty, that four English Jesuits might freely preach in England; who were to be Sanders and Allen, of Doway, and the two Heywoods named for the other two.

From Dr. Wylson's letter.

Papists' revenge upon one Parker for Dr. Story.

The Papists here in England took their revenge of one Parker, who had been the chief instrument of getting Dr. Story aboard from Antwerp to England in the year 1569, by this wile, (as was hinted before:) he was appointed by Duke D'Alva searcher of all ships that came to Antwerp, for English goods and heretical books. This man was a bitter enemy to the Queen, and a bloody and hard-hearted persecutor of Protestants; as he had been under Queen Mary. Under King Edward he seems to have been an exile, and was excepted out of the general pardon granted the last year of that king. Parker was procured by certain persons for a reward (to which they say Secretary Cecil was privy) to go to Antwerp, to decoy the said Story. There Parker,

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having his opportunity, repaired to Story, and told him there was an English ship come: whereupon, in his hot zeal, he presently went aboard, and according to his office searched about; and going down into the hatches, they that belonged to the vessel presently clapped all down, and the wind proving favourable, hoised up their sails, and brought him away. And so at length he was brought to London, and cast into prison for treason. And in the year 1571, being found guilty, he was executed for a traitor. But the Roman Catholics did not forget Parker: for in this year, on some pretences, he was cast into prison by the craft and malice of Story's private friends. There the poor man lay, it may be, as a pirate; nor could he any ways get his liberty. So that, as the last remedy, his wife was fain to make a supplication to the Lords of the Council: wherein she shewed there was 28*l.* due to her from the Queen, perhaps for some such service done by her husband; and that he was in prison of malice and envy. The issue of this petition was, that the 465
Lords ordered Secretary Smith to signify to the Lord Treasurer, that he should send to the Judge of the Admiralty to understand the cause; and, that he might have so much relief in that court as justice and equity would allow: and for that and the rest, to send to the Lords his advice, who was best acquainted with the cause.

The Archbishop recommends the Bishop of Lincoln's book of the Exposition of the Lessons.

The Bishop of Lincoln had, in the year 1573, set forth *a brief Exposition of such chapters of the Old Testament, as usually were read in the church at common prayer on Sundays, for the better help and instruction of the unlearned.* There was an endeavour that this book should be had in every parish church: and for the forwarding this, the Archbishop gave his own testimonial to the Treasurer in June this year concerning the book; *viz.* "That he thought it "to be profitable for instruction, and necessary for the un-"learned Minister, but most to the poor subjects, who were "certainly to be informed by the stability of this doctrine. "And therefore he desired his Lordship to signify the same "unto her Majesty's Council, that they might give some "commendation thereunto; which he supposed would do

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"well. The rather, for that the simpler the doctrine was to "the people, the sooner, he said, might they be edified, and "in an obedience reposed."

A plot to take off the Archbishop and Lord Treasurer.

In the month of June, a formidable conspiracy began to come to light. It was managed by such who went under the name of Puritans; whose consciences, they pretended, directed them thereunto. It was to have taken off, whether by poison, or some other secret way, the Lord Treasurer and some other eminent persons near the Queen, and among the rest, the Archbishop. The Archbishop suspected one that laid, he said, in the Queen's bosom, to be the chief mover in this business; and who took hold of the heat of certain zealots to compass his designs against the said Lord and Archbishop. And him I strongly suspect to be the Earl of Leicester, who was an enemy to both. A main actor in this plot was one Undertree, who had secretly revealed it unto the Archbishop's steward, tempting him by money to join with those that should practise for the cutting off his master. The Archbishop being made privy to this design, signified it to the Lord Treasurer, urging him, "that this "matter should be effectuously with severity ordered, other-"wise, farewell your assurance, saith he, with all your pos-"terity; and farewell the quiet governance of her Majesty, "and her safety. He said, he had leisure enough a great "while to expend, from men's words and proceedings, this "deep, devilish, traitorous dissimulation: adding, that this "horrible conspiracy had so astonied him, that his will, his "memory, were quite gone. I would I were dead, said he, "before I see with my corporal eyes that which is now "brought to a full ripeness; whereof, he said, he gave "warning a great while ago, if he had been but heard. He "advised, that the detector should be honourably consider-"ed and safely protected, otherwise all would be nought."

His great concern for the Treasurer's life.

He was afraid these fellows might get such favour by the means of some at Court, [it may be those that set them at work,] as to obtain of the Queen their pardon. But he said, "that if these, and such like, escaped, *postrema erunt pejo-"ra prioribus*." But that it might not be thought, that this

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his counsel of severity might spring from some secret desire of revenge, he assured the Treasurer, that it was his concern for her Majesty, and for him, so useful, so necessary a person in the government, and not for himself, that made him thus earnest in the cause. "God knoweth," said he, "it is not myself, or any thing I have, I care for, will God "be with your Honour: praying God to save his Lord-"ship, and send him of his grace. And as to the Queen, "he feared that when rogues attempted to destroy those "that were so near her person, they would at last make the "same attempt upon her too; and that even some that lay "in her bosom, when opportunity served, would sting her. "Beware of too much trust, said he. Why was King "Henry VII. counted so wise a man, and seemed to have "knowledge in astronomy, but that he would hear and be "close." Here I scarcely question but the Archbishop glanced at Leicester; to whom, being such a kind of false person as he was, he thought the Queen discovered too much of her mind and intention. "If they mean," said he, "to "destroy their nigh friends in such sort, and that in con-"science, what may they to herself;" and so ended with his prayer, *Det Deus spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus contra hos spiritus pestiferos: et Deus misereatur nostri.* This letter to the Lord Treasurer hath neither name nor date subscribed: the reason whereof no question was, because of this and some other expressions in it, reflecting upon this great favourite, or some such as he.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Anno 1574.

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Endeavour used to seize one of the plotters.

The Lord Treasurer sent to the Archbishop, that Undertree by all means should be laid wait for and seized, if possible; (that was he who held the secret correspondence with the Archbishop's steward;) advising him, that the Queen was very earnest to have the thing speedily come more to light. But the Archbishop needed not these orders: for before they came, he had so laid the business, that he should be appointed to be at the Archbishop's house secretly, or at Mr. Steward's, who lived on the water-side: (for the steward made Undertree believe, that he was willing to join in the conspiracy, and make one in it:) and so as soon as they

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had possession of him, they would immediately send his Honour word, to do and follow that he should think good.

Anno 1574.

Four days had now passed, and the man was not yet taken: whereat the Queen was somewhat impatient. But the Archbishop had learned that he was going to the isle of Thanet, or Shipey. There an intention was, unknown to him, to stay him. He told the Treasurer, that the steward was as earnest as he could be, yet with prudence occupied: and prayed him to pacify her Majesty's desire; adding, *Sat cito, si sat bene.* There was a correspondence by letters between Undertree and the steward. And as these letters came to the steward, he communicated them unto the Archbishop, and the Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer. In one of these letters he mentioned what persons were intended to be taken off; whereat the Archbishop makes this reflection: "Belike "these men be hasty judges, to condemn men before they "examine their deserts: but *qui habitat in cœlis irridebit* "*eos.*"

The Treasurer offended that he was not taken.

It was now June 26, that is, about seven days after the Archbishop had first acquainted the Lord Treasurer with this matter, and the man was not yet seized, or spoke to by the Archbishop's scouts. It may be the conspirator began to have some suspicions, or had some secret informations to take heed of himself, and so absented himself on purpose. But the Lord Treasurer was somewhat offended at it, disliking that they had made him privy at all to the matter, having signified to the Queen some great conspiracy in general, when he was able to discover no more to her: and so his credit was in danger to be touched. But the Archbishop in some passion told him, "In good faith he thought "the matter was such, as men might spend their credit ra-"ther than their lives. And that he might be sure all should "be done that could possibly be done. And that by occa-"sion of a message that Undertree had sent, he did assure his "Lordship, that that night he should be spoke with either "by hook or by crook." And lest the Treasurer might think these delays were made by the steward, hoping first to receive a sum of money from the Treasurer as a reward

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for his pains and expenses, the Archbishop told the Treasurer, "that he meant no gain thereby, but put it wholly "to his consideration, which his Lordship might take there-"in; and to do what he thought best."

Found to be a sham plot, cast upon the Puritans.

At last this practicer was taken, and examined by the Privy Council: and before the last of June it was found to have been a sham plot, pretended to be managed by the Puritan faction against such who were not on their side, but their enemies at Court. Many persons of honour, as the Earl of Bedford, and many Puritan Ministers, were brought in as concerned in the plot. Among them was Bonham, Brown, and Stonden, men of great names among the party. This Stonden had been one of the preachers to the Queen's army, when the Earl of Warwick was sent into the northern parts to subdue the rebels there. And many letters were forged by this Undertree in the names of those men; very many in Brown's; all counterfeited with one hand. Undertree himself had counterfeited that of Bonham; for which he, and Stonden with him, had been taken up, and put in prison. The Archbishop thought it just, that that *lewd scrivener*, as he styled him, should pay off Bonham's charges in prison, and that Stonden should be considered too, being apprehended by his means only. For the enlargement of these two, the Council writ their letters to the Archbishop. This wretch, Undertree, upon his examination, took all upon himself, and would accuse nobody else; which made the Archbishop's fear somewhat more. "For he could not but "imagine, that there were others that set him on work. "He advised therefore, that this subtle and principal party "might be well examined by the Council, and that he should 467 "write as his pen would serve him, which was so ready, [he "meant in respect of his forgeries of other men's letters.] "And he should think it well if that varlet were hanged: "for it was pity, he said, that such an one should remain in "a commonwealth to abuse so many honourable and honest "persons. And that those who were the diligent searchers "into this business, and into these men, to their great cost, "charges, and travail, might not be discouraged by the

Troubles at Frankfort.

The Archbishop's conclusions thereupon.

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"Council. That as for himself, and others with him, they "meant honourably to God, carefully to her Majesty's pre-"servation, and dutifully to the estates of the nobles and "the state public. And lastly, he was glad, and thanked "God, that this matter fell out thus at length; especially, "because he trusted the realm was not yet corrupted with "such spirits as were feared; which was his greatest grief, "and made him most astonied. And secondly, that his Ho-"nour and such other (meaning well) needed not to stand "in such doubt; and that God will protect his. Thirdly, "that innocent men be purged by this examination, and "friends be still the same."

Troubled with the stone.

In this month of June he was much troubled with the stone; insomuch that he then feared the strangury. "Which made him sorry to be *onus terræ*. But with "prayer, and as occasion should serve, he would still do his "duty, *dum interim sumus in hoc tabernaculo, dissolvi* "*cupientes*, as he said piously.

Discovers a pretended possession with a spirit.

In the month of August following, the Archbishop discovered a great cheat in a maid that pretended herself to be possessed with a spirit: and that so artificially, that divers devout Ministers were deluded by her; and wrote books giving accounts of her: whereby the people became the more imposed upon by this counterfeit. This was a business therefore, which the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners thought fit to have brought before them. But so well did our Prelate sift and try the wench by himself, for want of other Commissioners, that he found out the cheat. And after he had by divers examinations tried out the falsehood, he required Sir Rowland Hayward, and Mr. Recorder of the City, to be assistant with him, who heard the wench examined and confessed, and saw her play her pranks before them. They had present her father and mother; by which mother this wench was counselled and supported: and yet she would not confess any thing. Whose stubbornness they considering, sent her to close prison at Westminster gate; where she remained, until her daughter, and another maid of Lothbury, had openly done

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their penance at Paul's Cross, as was ordered. The lying relations of this illusion had been very earnestly believed, and printed, and set forth; and by print recorded and spread without licence. The two printers thereof, with others that sold those pamphlets, were committed to prison: and the Archbishop was disposed to commit some of the principal witnesses to prison too, to stop them hereafter from abusing the Queen's Majesty's people so boldly, falsely, and impudently. And he intended moreover to set out a confutation of the same imposture. All this he thought fit the Court should know; and therefore sent this account thereof to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, desiring, as he said, that in those things wherein he was a doer, his Lordship might understand a truth by his own report, rather than by the uncertain speech of the Court. The tragedy was so large, he told him, that he might spend much time to trouble him withal; but chose to send him a copy of the vain book printed, and a copy also of the confessions of these cheats at length. That which made the Archbishop so diligent in the discovery of this delusion was, because in those times there were not a few that falsely pretended possession: for so he told the Treasurer, that he was so grieved with such dissemblers, that he could not be quiet with himself.

Vide Holinsh. and Stow.

Two such pretenders do penance.

Both these maids, the one about twenty years old, named Agnes Bridges, and the other but eleven or twelve, named Rachel Pindar, did their penances at St. Paul's Cross: where first their several examinations and confessions were openly read by the preacher; and after, they did themselves acknowledge their counterfeiting, and required forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to pray for them. The whole matter was afterwards thought fit to be published in print.

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CHAP. XXXIX.

The Lord Chamberlain's friendship to the Archbishop. His care of his church. Matters between the Archbishop of York and Sampson the Puritan. The Archbishop refuses Dering. One Bignon nominated for Hebrew Reader in Cambridge. The Archbishop sets forth King Alfred's Life by Asserius.

Anno 1574.

The Lord Chamberlain favourably represents the Archbishop to the Queen.

THE Queen was this summer in progress, and the Earl of Sussex, her Lord Chamberlain, with her. The Archbishop having occasion to request the Queen's favour in some matter relating to his own person, (his credit and reputation I suppose,) and to know her will therein; and having not long since writ some expostulatory letter to her Majesty, (which she seemed not well to take,) he had the said Earl to his friend; who both obtained from the Queen a favourable answer to his request, and did moreover make such a declaration of his letters, as rendered the Queen tolerably pleased with the Archbishop. For this the grateful Archbishop gave him thanks in this letter wrote in October.

The Archbishop to the Lord Chamberlain. Cott. Libr. Tit. B. 2.

"I received your honourable letters, answering my re-
"quest to know her Majesty's pleasure. I have great cause
"to acknowledge my bounden duty of thanks and readiness
"of service to her Highness, for her Majesty's special
"favour so to consider of me her poor Chaplain. And
"furthermore, I have to give your good Lordship my
"hearty thanks for your friendly declaration to her Ma-
"jesty of my letters in such good sort as I perceive your
"Honour hath done. And if that I can do your Lord-
"ship any pleasure or service, I pray you be bold of
"me, as your assured well-willer. And thus Almighty
"God preserve your Honour to his pleasure. From my
"house at Lambhith this 7. of October.

"Your Lordship's assured friend,

"Matthue Cantuar."

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By which we may observe by the by, that as the Archbishop had one great nobleman about the Queen his enemy, I mean the Earl of Leicester; so he had another as great and noble about her person his friend and intercessor.

Anno 1574.

Order for the Prebendaries of Canterbury about preaching.

The Archbishop had his careful eye still upon his own church of Canterbury this year, to which his last year's visitation was adjourned. He laboured that the chief members of his own church, for a pattern to all the rest of his clergy in the diocese, might discharge their duties well; and particularly in one respect, namely, that of preaching. For, by the statutes of the church, the Dean and every of the Prebendaries were to preach in the cathedral church, every quarter, an English sermon upon Sundays; that no Sunday in the year should pass without a sermon. Wherein, it seems, they had not been so diligent as they should have been. Wherefore, in the month of November, the Dean, at a general Chapter then held, told them, that he had order from the Archbishop to give him an account, by a certificate, how often each of them had preached from Michaelmas the last year to Michaelmas this; to the end that he, according to commandment, might make the certificate thereof. And this is the last particular I find of this the Archbishop's last and valedictory visitation.

N. Batteley.

Archbishop Grindal defamed.

Now let us see how affairs stood among the Puritan party this year. Sampson, who was now Master of the hospital at Leicester, held some correspondence this summer with Grindal, Archbishop of York; the occasion whereof was this. Sampson had writ unto him concerning some base report that went about concerning the said Archbishop. For it was not unusual in those days, as well as in ours, to bespatter with lying defamations the Bishops and Clergy. Sampson had wrote the news of it to him, and to 469 know what truth there was in it. Whereupon that Archbishop, according to his mild nature, wrote a letter in October in answer to the said Divine: wherein he did most plainly and sincerely declare matters relating to himself, and did solemnly protest unto him, how clear he was of that which was laid to his charge; and related how the case in

His letter to Sampson.

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BOOK IV.

deed and truth stood, that had occasioned such a slander. The Archbishop then also said, that however the title of *Lord* was ascribed to him, and the rest of the Bishops, yet that he was not *lordly;* and that for his part he did not set by that lordly estate: but that his great care was so to discharge his function committed to him, with all faithfulness, until the great day of the Lord, that he hoped to have comfort in that day. He spake of the riot of Puritanism, and of some, who, he said, held a Puritanism-superstition: and he prayed God to reform all misleaders of Christ's flock, and to reduce the misled people into the right way: and gently pitied Sampson's poverty and lameness, having lately been struck with the palsy. He added, that he loved some godly brethren, who wished that some things amiss might be reformed.

Anno 1574.

His words upon his title of Lord.

Sampson's answer to the Archbishop.

To this kind letter Sampson made a prolix reply; and took occasion therein to make reflections upon things wrote by the Archbishop, which one would have thought were void of exception: as, where he had said, that he was not *lordly*, and cared little for that *lordly* state; Sampson said, "that "if he whom policy had made a Lord kept the humble "strait course of a loving brother and Minister of the "Gospel, he was a phœnix: but his port, his train of wait-"ing-men in the streets, his gentlemen-ushers going before "him with bare heads, his family full of idle serving-men; "all this was very lordly: and that his and his brethren's "revenues, which some called *patrimonium crucifixi*, "should not be laid out in maintaining a parcel of lazy "idle servants, unprofitable and unmeet for a Minister of "Christ, but rather upon those that were Ministers and "labourers in the harvest of the Lord Jesus, and the poor "needy members of his body. That whereas the Archbi-"shop had named them Puritans," [which was the ordinary term by which those that disliked the present constitution of the Church were called,] "it was a name, said "Sampson, unjustly imposed on brethren, with whose doc-"trine and life none could find fault: and so to call them, "was to rend the seamless coat of Christ, and to make

The name Puritan.

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"a schism incurable in the Church. And if by Puritans "were meant such as followed Novatus, who were called "καθαροὶ, *pure*, who did dissemble themselves to be teach-"ers, and that wished the ceremonies should be observed, "but yet hated the custom of the ancient Church; then "might a number of Churchmen be called Puritans. And "he prayed God to *purge* them, and make them more "*pure*." Whereas the Archbishop had pitied his poverty and lameness, he said, "He complained to him of nothing: "and if of the former, he should have complained before he "had need: and that if he had need, he would have com-"plained to them to whom he might complain. Concern-"ing his lameness, he was so far from complaining of that, "that he humbly thanked God for it: and these chains he "would choose to carry before the clogs and cares of a "bishopric." With this sourness did he repartee upon the Archbishop's well and friendly intended expressions; yet in conclusion he called the Archbishop's letters *loving letters*, and excused his writing with his old familiar simplicity. But Sampson's whole letter may be read in the Appendix.

N°. XCIV.

Endeavours that Dering succeed him in his lecture.

This lameness increased upon Sampson; so that in or before the month of February he was utterly disabled on one side by the palsy; whereby was taken from him the use of half his body. Of one arm he had no use: one leg could not do service to bear his body, as the other did: in his tongue he had great impediment. Hitherto he had kept the lecture in the church at Whittington college, London, however disaffected he was, (such was the favour shewn him,) for which his stipend was 10*l.* a year. But now, finding himself disabled to hold it any longer, his care was to leave it to some body of his own party. The Company of [a] Clothworkers had the nomination of the Reader; and the Archbishop had the allowance of him. He made no doubt to procure the said Company to agree to him whom he should name; but doubted the Archbishop. The man he pitched upon was Dering the Puritan: but the Archbishop, having been moved by some to allow of him in case he were nomi-

[a] *Qu.* If not the Mercers'.

Whom the Archbishop refuses.

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nated by that Company, had utterly refused it. Therefore, to bring this business to pass, Sampson made use of his interest with the Lord Treasurer, that he would prevail with, or rather over, the Archbishop, to yield in this thing.

Sampson to the Lord Treasurer. MSS. Burghlian.

He writes from Leicester to the said Lord Treasurer, and makes a good man, Mr. Bodleigh, (whom he calls *a godly merchant*,) the bringer of his letter. Wherein he used these expressions concerning the Archbishop; "That he dealt "herein very straitly: and that though he liked not to "take pains in the congregation himself, yet should he not "hinder or forbid others who were both able and willing. "That of Mr. Dering he might say, that my Lord of Can-"terbury could neither find just fault with his doctrine, "nor yet fault his life. That he spake not of spleen, the "Lord, the Almighty God, knew; but of truth, and as "truth was." And then he went on (as though he could not forbear shewing his spleen, notwithstanding his last words) varying from his present purpose. "That if his "Lordship would but look into the state of the Archbi-"shop, as the policy of the nation had planted it, into his "Canterbury offices and officers, he both could and would "easily spy, by his prudence, such great faults as did "crave a reformation: and that it was time, if not more "than high time, they should be reformed." But at length he bethought himself that he was a suitor now, and not an accuser: and so returns to beseech the Treasurer, by his authority to countervail the authority of the Archbishop. "That it was no great promotion for Mr. Dering. And "that it was a labour in which he doubted not but God's "people, the Queen's subjects, should be much profited by "him. His last suit therefore was, that if the Cloth-"workers should be procured to nominate him Reader, "that the Archbishop might allow of him, and not refuse "it; knowing his Honour might command a greater thing "at his hand. And herein he should do God good service, "and have the praise, and thanks, and prayers of the "godly." This was dated the 13th of February. What the issue of this was, I know not: but I believe that wise

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and good man would not stretch his friendship with, or authority over, the Archbishop, in a matter of no more concern.

The Archbishop promotes a contribution for an Hebrew Reader in Cambridge, named Peter Bignon.

The Chancellor of Cambridge, in the month of November, made means by his letter to the University, for one Peter Bignon, a Frenchman, to be admitted by them Professor of the Hebrew language there; Mr. Wakefield, the present Hebrew Reader, being either dead, or resigning; for whom this Bignon had read very diligently and sufficiently. In order to which, the said person had gotten a public testimonial, dated November 10, of his ability, from Dr. Pern and Dr. Norgate, two Heads, and divers others of that University, to the Chancellor. The Chancellor hereupon, reckoning upon his succeeding to Wakefield, considered how small the salary of that lecture was. Which caused him to send to the Archbishop, that he and the rest of the Bishops would contribute towards augmenting the stipend: which the Archbishop promised readily he would do the best he could, to others of his Cambridge brothers, to contribute some increase of living to him. And as soon as he had obtained, would inform his Honour, or else signify the same to the Vice-Chancellor. But to relate the success of this matter, as I find it in original papers concerning that University.

Lively chosen Hebrew Professor.

Upon the Chancellor's recommendation of this man unto the University, the Vice-Chancellor and other Heads returned him this answer, that Bignon was not eligible; for the statutes required the Hebrew Reader to be Master of Arts at least, and to prefer the Fellows of Trinity college *cæteris paribus*. And that by diligent search they found one there, namely, one Lively, very fit and meet for that place. But Bignon was not Master of Arts, nor had taken any degree of school. And their statutes would not permit them to receive him into the degree of Master of Arts, nor any other like degree. So by an unanimous consent Lively was chosen, being not only very toward in that tongue, but also in all other arts and qualifications requisite

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BOOK IV. for that Reader. Indeed the University seemed not to affect foreigners to be placed in preferments among them, Anno 1574. especially having as able men of their own. Thus they excuse themselves to their Chancellor, telling him, "that this "preferring of one of their own would tend to encourage "others to travail in that tongue; wherein, they said, they "had divers of very excellent towardness. And that it tend-"ed to the honour and commendation of their University; 471 "which had, they thanked God, as many as fit to occupy "the places of all the ordinary lectures, as there was of "any other country. But withal they said, they would, "for his Lordship's sake, be very willing to help that "Frenchman wherein they might. Which he should per-"ceive, if he used himself accordingly." What they did for him, I find not. Probably they allowed him to be a private reader and instructor of scholars in that kind of learning, and might allow him an honorary stipend.

The Archbishop publishes a new edition of some ancient historians.

This November the Archbishop sent two books to the Lord Treasurer. The one I know not what it was, more than, as he called it, *a rude pamphlet*, which he had before promised him. For there was a learned intercourse kept between them. The other was King Alfred's Life, written by Asserius Menevensis. With this book he bound up together, in one volume, certain ancient stories, that had been formerly published by him; as, that of Matthew of Westminster, Thomas of Walsingham, and others. And to certain other Lords, affecters of learning and antiquity, he purposed to send the like; especially to the Earl of Arundel, Fitz-Allen, a great friend to the Archbishop's studies of antiquity. He had knowledge of these old histories which the Archbishop had thus collected; which therefore he expressed to his Grace his desire to have. Otherwise he thought them so *homely*, (in his humble judgment of his own pains,) that he would not have sent them to him. And being to wait upon the Queen at Hampton Court, to welcome her Majesty home from her progress, he intended then to present her one, which he had procured to be well bound.

Earl of Arundel an antiquarian.

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Of this edition of Asserius there had been great expectation among the learned: but his correcting, and the printing, and the binding of some numbers to be presented, (wherein he was very curious,) had stayed him so long, as he told his learned and noble correspondent the Lord Treasurer.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Anno 1574.

CHAP. XL.

Religious societies at Balsham, &c. An unjust charge against the Bishop of Ely at St. Paul's. The Archbishop vindicates him. The death of Matthew, the Archbishop's younger son. His will. His widow. Her descent. John Parker's issue.

THERE grew now a great jealousy of a new sect, resembling either the Family of Love, or the Libertines, or some such company, newly sprung up in the parts of Cambridge and Essex, and especially in and about Balsham and Strethal. For there was a parcel of people lately discovered, that had *religious assemblies* among themselves. But they were found to be indeed innocent well-disposed people, that met together on holydays, when they were at leisure from their ordinary work, sometimes after dinner, and sometimes after supper, only to read and confer the Scriptures, and to inform and confirm one another in their Christian duty, and to edify themselves in the knowledge of God; thinking thereby to spend their time better than others, or themselves before had done, when it was taken up in playing at cards, dice, and tables, or sitting at alehouses. Of this company was the Minister of Strethal, and several housekeepers in Balsham. But information was made of these men and their meetings. And it was reported of Sharp, Parson of Strethal, that he married persons in the fields, and after a new way of his own, different from that in the Book of Common Prayer; and of the rest of them, as if they disliked the Book of Common Prayer, and disowned

The supposed new sect at Balsham.

Hold religious assemblies.

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the Queen's supremacy; and owned a state of perfection in this life; that they disbelieved the resurrection; and that they were for revelations besides the Scriptures: finally, that they held, that differences of persons, of meats, and apparel, of times and days, were not to be made by the magistrates.

Pern administers interrogatories to them.

Whereupon Dr. Pern, the incumbent of Balsham, probably commissionated by the ecclesiastical commission, administered divers interrogatories to them concerning these
472 things, requiring their plain answer thereunto. The which answers I have here subjoined, as worthy some observation, according as they were given in by the said Pern.

Their innocent Declaration. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

"*A Declaration and Confession made the* 13. *of December,* "1574, *of certain Articles of Religion hereafter following, before Andrew Pern, D. D. and Parson of the parish church of Balsham, in the county of Cambridge, by Rob. Sharp, Parson of Strethal in Essex, and Tho. Laurence, Will. Laurence, John Tayler, Tho. Diss, Edmund Rule, and Barthol. Tassel, of Balsham aforesaid, in the said county of Cambridge.*

"*Imprimis,* We do know nothing in the Book of Common Service, either doctrine or ceremonies, but we do take them both good and godly, and lawful: and we do all very well allow of it according to our simple and small understanding.

"*Item,* We acknowledge the Queen's Majesty to be supreme governor of all persons, and in all causes, within these her realms and dominions.

"*Item,* We know no man so perfect, either in life or doctrine, but that he ought truly to confess his own sin and ignorance, and to pray to God daily for the forgiveness of his sins, as he doth forgive others: and to pray and study continually for the increase of his faith and knowledge.

"*Item,* We do know none other sect among us, but those that do profess to study and travail to learn God's word with all humility and obedience: to this only end and

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" purpose, to know God, and truly to know virtue from " vice, to love God above all things, and our neighbour as " ourselves, and to pray God daily to frame our lives ac- " cording to the same.

" *Item*, We do believe the resurrection of the body truly, " in such sort as it is set down by St. Paul to the Corin- " thians, chap. xv. and in the Creeds of Nicene, Athanasius, " and the Apostles, as they be set forth in the Book of " Common Prayer.

" *Item*, We do know and allow of no other revelations " in these our days, either of God, or of his angels, for the " setting forth a declaration of any matter of religion, doc- " trine, or truth of any cause; but such as God hath set " forth and expressed in the written word in the Old and " New Testament: and all other revelations and things " contrary to it, to be vain, erroneous, and false.

" *Item*, The forenamed Robert Sharp offereth to be " sworn on a book, that he never married any persons in the " fields, but only in the church, and that according to the " laws of this realm.

" *Item*, We do believe, that sithence the coming of Christ " there ought to be no difference between Jew and Gentile, " but all that believeth and calleth upon the name of God " truly shall be saved by him equally; and that there is no " difference of meats, days, or apparel, by the word of God, " by the which all creatures of God are sanctified alike: as " God is the Lord of the whole earth, so hath he made all " things pure to them that are pure. The difference that " is between one day and another, one apparel and another, " one kind of meat from another, is and may be by positive " laws and the authority of Christian magistrates; to the " which we both are, and will be, and all good subjects " ought to be, obedient, not only for fear of punishment, " but also for conscience, according to the doctrine of the " Apostle St. Paul. And we think it as lawful for a Chris- " tian man, with a good conscience, as well to eat swine's " flesh as beef or mutton, butter or cheese. And so we " have done, and by grace intend to do.

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"*Item*, We have no private conventicles, nor love any "unlawful assembly, nor use any other conference at our "meeting but only for the reading of Scripture, sometimes "after dinner, or after supper, upon the holyday only, for "our own instruction, or our several families, for the re-"formation of vice as well in ourselves as in our said fami-"lies, and for the further knowledge of God's word and "true godliness, as we are openly taught and exhorted in "the pulpit by our Parson.

"And whereas we understand, that [by reason of] our "meetings upon the holydays, after supper, at sundry times, "in our private houses, only for these purposes abovesaid, "and none other, divers have been offended by sinister re-"ports made to divers persons, as well private as also those "that be in authority; we intend therefore, for the avoid-"ing of offences, to forbear our common conference here-"after, and to content ourselves with our private readings "severally in our families, except it shall be to ask a ques-"tion when we doubt; the which we will do of our Parson, "[Dr. Pern,] whom we know to be a learned man, and hath "charge over us in such matters, where we ourselves do "doubt of any place for the true understanding of the "Scripture.

"The occasion of our assemblies on the holydays, after "supper, was this: for that heretofore we have, at divers "times, spent and consumed the same vainly in drinking at "the alehouse, and playing at cards, tables, dice, and other "vain pastimes, not meet for us and such of our calling and "degree; for the which we have been often greatly blamed "of our Parson: we thought it better to bestow the time "in soberly and godly reading the Scriptures, only for the "purposes aforesaid, and not other.

"*Item*, We think it unlawful and ungodly to speak one "thing with the mouth, and think the contrary with the "heart, as the Libertines do.

"*Item*, We do judge it lawful and godly to give alms to "the poor, according to the laws of the realm.

"Finally, We do not favour or maintain any of the

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"opinions of the Anabaptists, Puritans, Papists, or Liber-
"tines, but would be glad to learn our duty towards God,
"our Prince, and Magistrates, towards our neighbours and
"our families, in such sort as it becometh good, faithful,
"and obedient subjects: which is our greatest and only
"desire, to live, follow, and perform the same, according as
"God shall give us grace. In witness whereof we have
"put our hands to these presents, the day and year above
"mentioned.

"By me Tho. Laurence. Tho. Disse.
"By me Will. Laurence. Bartholomew Tassel.
"The mark of Edm. Rule. Per me Andream Perne.
"The mark of Rob. Sharp, Parson of Strethal."

Dr. Chaterton, at Paul's Cross, charges Cambridgeshire with want of conformity.

Thus well-disposed were many of the country folk by this time grown, as to affect these meetings together, only for the increase of their godly knowledge. And yet such were the times now, that even these commendable courses were strictly and jealously looked into by special order from the Archbishop: and this chiefly by occasion of a sermon preached at Paul's Cross not long before by Dr. Chaterton, the same that was, as it seems, Master of Queen's college in Cambridge. Who had openly there declared, that a mighty deformity was in Cambridgeshire: pretending therein to shew his zeal to conformity; but indeed it was to expose the Bishop of Ely, who now lay under a cloud at Court, because he would not part with some revenues of the bishopric to certain of the courtiers. For Chaterton hoped, as was thought, that for this neglect he should be deprived of his bishopric, and himself should succeed him: which, if it were so, remains as a blot upon Chaterton's memory. And yet so did the Archbishop write to his brother of York, *viz.* "That he had searched out this report, so confidently
"told in the pulpit concerning the sectaries in that diocese,
"and had found these news to be enviously uttered: and
"that Chaterton talked his pleasure of the bishopric of Ely,
"which he looked to enjoy, and had laid wagers of the pre-
"sent Bishop's deposition, as the Archbishop was informed;

MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

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"and that he would give Somersham house [a seat of that "Bishop's] to him who sued for it, [*i. e.* the Lord North, "if I mistake not,] which this man, the present Bishop, "would not do. And therefore it had brought him such "displeasant report."

The Archbishop defamed by Chaterton.

This Chaterton defamed also the Archbishop himself, whom, alluding to his name, he called *Chatterer*, in his foresaid letter to the Archbishop of York: to whom he wrote, that he had been credibly informed by letters, that he should report very ill words of him, uttered to the said Chaterton, as he pretended, by Sands the Bishop of London.

Ch. xxxviii.

The matter seems to be concerning the plot before mentioned: but the Archbishop vindicated himself by saying, "that he cared not for it three chips, for ought that could "be proved; in his allegiance, doing it so secretly, faith-"fully, and prudently as he did: and would do the same "again, if he knew no more than he did at that time." These were December transactions.

The Archbishop's son Matthew dies.

In this month of December died the Archbishop's second son, named Matthew, aged twenty-three years and about three months; young, but married to Frances, a daughter of Barlow, late Bishop of Chichester, his said wife Frances being with child at his death. This gentlewoman he seemed to have chosen more for her virtues than her fortune; all that he had with her from the beginning to his death being but an 100*l.* value: that is to say, a gelding, for her apparel 10*l.* of her own stock 12*l.* of damask linen, a table-cloth and a towel, two pillow-bears, two long cushions, a silver salt and standing cup, and 10*l.* in money, when they rode to see her mother, being a widow, her father the Bishop deceasing in the year 1570. By this may be seen what riches the Bishops in those times used to leave behind them. This second loss of a near relation was another stroke that went very near the good Archbishop, and was an exercise for his Christian patience. He died at the Duke's house at Lambeth, which of late was given him by his father the Archbishop, after his mother's decease, and upon his match. Somewhat of his estate and circumstances may be

MSS. Joh. Parker.

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collected from his will, dated Nov. 1, 1574, at Lambeth. Wherein, for the decent interment of his body, he left it to his honourable lord and father, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury: and accordingly he was buried in the Duke's chapel in Lambeth church. The words of his will were these, after the preamble.

CHAP. XL.

Anno 1574.

His last will. MSS. Joh. Parker.

"The manor of Dausington, lying in Bexley in the "county of Kent, I will and devise to Frances my wife "for the term of one and twenty years, to maintain her-"self, and to the bringing up of my child, if she lives so "long. The remainder thereof to the issue whereof my "wife is supposed to go *priviment enfant* by me, whether "it be he or she. And if it fortune that my said wife be "not delivered of any such child by me begotten of her "body, or being thus delivered, the same child fortune to "depart out of this life before the said term of twenty-one "years be fully expired, then I will that the said manor of "Dausington, before for term of years devised, shall be and "remain to the said Frances my wife during her natural "life. And after her decease, my most reverend and my "honourable father, the Lord Archbishop of Cant. shall "and may in his lifetime, by virtue of this my will, dispose "of the said manor, with the said appurtenances, to the "Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi college in Cam-"bridge, and to their successors, or to such other persons "and uses as he the said Archbishop, by sufficient con-"veyance, shall dispose and appoint the same.

"As touching my house and land, lying and being in "Lambeth, known by the name of the Duke of Norfolk's "House, and the Bell on the east, and the other house on "the west of the said mansion-house, with all the appurte-"nances, &c. I give and bequeath to the issue male or fe-"male wherewith my wife is now supposed to go *priviment* "with child by me, and to his or her heirs for ever. And "for default of such issue, to Matthew Parker, the son of "my brother John Parker, and his heirs. And for default "of such heirs, to Margaret, the eldest daughter of my

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1574.

"brother John Parker, and her heirs. And for default of "such heirs, to Jane the youngest daughter of my brother "John Parker, and her heirs. And for default of such "heirs, to that issue, whether male or female, wherewith "Joan Parker, wife of my brother John Parker, now go-"eth *priviment enfant*, and to his or her heirs. Neverthe-"less, the middle part of that capital house, called the "Duke's House, I devise to my wife for term of her life, "if she will dwell there, pay the lord's rents, and keep the
475 "same in reparations, &c. I make John Parker, my brother, "and Thomas Allen, my Lord's Comptroller, my executors; "desiring my Lord's Grace to supervise this my will: to "whose will and determination I refer all my worldly "things at his pleasure.

"Signed and sealed in the presence of

"John Coldwel,
"Geo. Denham,
"Matth. Allen, Notar. Public.
"Per me Matth. Parkerum."

His debts. MSS. Joh. Parker.

His will was proved in the Prerogative Court, March 3, 1574. This Matthew appears to have been no forehanded man in the world: for he died in debt to his father and his brother 444*l.* And still more in debt to his brother 184*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And yet more, 152*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* Disbursed also by his said brother for him 115*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* out of his own purse. *Item*, 10*l.* more paid for him by his brother. The inventory of his goods and chattels amounted to 744*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.* John Parker wholly renounced the executorship, and left it to Thomas Allen. July 29, 1575, by the payments that his brother made for him out of his own purse, after all other charges allowed, there remained then in the executors hands clear 64*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Dausington manor.

Dausington manor, with the appurtenances, was purchased by the said Matthew Parker, Aug. 14. an. Eliz. 13. for 500*l.* and another parcel of the same estate was purchased for 80*l.* Oct. 4. The purchase whereof (he being

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forced to take up money) might occasion those debts aforesaid. The Archbishop, his father, having authority by his son's last will and testament, did, March 20, 1574, give and grant the said manor of Dausington to John Parker, brother of the said Matthew deceased, and his heirs; provided the child which Frances his relict was supposed to go with, died before the age of one and twenty, and after the death of the said Frances. John Parker, July 23, 1576, agreed with the said Frances his brother's widow, to give her 44*l.* per annum for all her lands in Dausington and Bexley, during her life. And July 20, John Parker and Frances Parker made to each other a general release of all suits, demands, quarrels, &c. March 26, 1579, John Parker let all his lands in Bexley, and the manor of Dausington, for 44*l.* a year, being no more than what he paid his sister Frances. This estate of Dausington, John Parker sold to Sir Tho. Low, May 17, ann. Eliz. 33, ann. Dom. 1590, but paid the annuity of 44*l.* to his sister many years after.

Anno 1574.

John Parker's kindness to his deceased brother's wife.

John Parker shewed himself a loving brother to his sister the widow: for (according as he set it down in his own memorial) he gave her 20*l.* in money, July 29, 1575, purchased of the executor her husband's jewels for her, and gave her a chain of gold, and certain pieces of plate; which was testified under her hand. And other things she had of her husband's unknown; besides the annuity of 44*l.* A large recompense, as he added in his said memorial, for that my brother was advanced unto by her. By reason of this her fortune, as well as her excellent endowments, she was afterwards married to Dr. Toby Matthew, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon, Dean of Durham, Bishop of Durham, and after that of York. And there is an acquittance remaining in the said John Parker's memorial, under the hands of the Archbishop of York and his wife Frances, for the payment of the annuity for the half-year ending at Michaelmas, ann. Dom. 1613; for so long time she lived, and many years after, in York, in great reputation for her charity and virtues; as we shall hear by and by.

She marries Dr. Matthew.

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BOOK IV.

But to look back to the child she went with by her first husband Matthew deceased. About the month of May next after his decease, she was brought to bed of a son, whom they called Matthew. For at a court holden in Lambeth Oct. 18, 1575, the jury presented Matthew Parker, son and heir of Matthew Parker lately deceased, who held certain lands within that manor, as the inquisition ran; and that he was of the age of six months, and in the custody and guardianship of his mother. But this Matthew died within the year.

Anno 1574.

Matthew, posthumous son of Matthew.

Commendation of the widow.

This woman was wise, prudent, and pious, as well as beautiful, and all this in no mean degree. She was a great benefactor to the church of York, by giving to that church her deceased husband, the Archbishop of York, his library; consisting of a vast number of books. A woman memorable not only for her own personal virtues, but for other things.

Her descent from Bishop Barlow.

Her descent was honourable, being the daughter of Bishop Barlow, of the ancient family of the Barlows of Wales, though he was born in Essex, and was once a Canon of the 476 religious house of S. Osith's there. Whom King Henry VIII. took notice of, and sent him, anno 1528, with letters from him and Cardinal Wolsey, to Dr. Stephen Gardiner, then Ambassador with the Pope: once afterwards he was the King's Ambassador to Scotland: and he made much use of him otherwise. He was one of the first reformers of religion, and contemporary with Archbishop Cranmer, and his friend. This man was by Queen Anne made Prior of Haverford-west in Wales; then he became Prior of Bustlisham or Bisham in Berks; afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, Bath and Wells, and (some years of banishment interposing) of Chichester, successively. He valued the married life, and had five daughters; all which married to Bishops. This our Frances had to her second husband Archbishop Matthew, as was said before; she lived to be eighty years of age, save two, and died 1629, and was buried in the cathedral of York.

John Parker's issue.

But though the Archbishop had lost one of his sons, and

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the issue from him extinct; yet his other son John had this year three children living, namely, Matthew, Margaret, and Jane, and his wife going with a fourth.

CHAP. XL.

Anno 1574.

To his said son, and Dr. Drury, the Archbishop, Nov. 25, granted the advowson of Bucksted.

An advowson granted him.

CHAP. XLI.

The Archbishop's dealing with Cartwright's brother, frantic. Order from the Council to him about Papists. Popish books brought in and seized. His behaviour with respect to the Earl of Leicester, his enemy. Discountenanced at Court. An earthquake. Visits Norwich by Dr. Styward in this vacancy. Gets a Puritan book De Disciplina *answered. Lowth, a Puritan in the north, informed against to the Archbishop, by the Archbishop of York. Wrongful payment of pensions discovered.*

How he dealt with one that said he was heir to the lands of the kingdom.

IT was a prudent act of our Archbishop, which he now did as a Commissioner. The Dean of Westminster had brought to him a young stripling, and one that was a brother of Thomas Cartwright. He had said in a frenzy, that he was rightful heir of the lands in this realm, and that the Queen kept them in his right; with more such kind of words spoken to the Dean. Some thought it convenient to dismiss him from their ecclesiastical court unto the Privy Council: but the Archbishop thought it very needless to trouble that honourable Board with such a matter; the person being so fond and simple. But for his vain talk he committed him to the Gatehouse at Westminster for the present: and purposed to take order with one Martin and other his friends, by their bonds, to have him kept at their charges, either at Bridewell or Bedlam, or else in some other prison, or at home in their own houses, till his wits came again to him, and also for his forthcoming. "And he "thought this, as he said, a good way; the rather, because "his brother, and such Precisians, should not think that

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1574.

"they dealt hardly with this young man, being in this "foolish frenzy, for his brother's sake, whose opinion had "so troubled the state of the realm." This happened about the month of January.

The Council directs the Commissioners for the examination of Papists.

The Privy Council wrote letters to the Archbishop and ecclesiastical Commissioners, directing them after what manner to examine certain Papists. The Archbishop said, they would do as opportunity served them. This order from above was occasioned, as I conjecture, from the Papists' diligence at this time to pervert the Queen's subjects; as appeared by abundance of Popish books that were clandestinely imported: many whereof were intercepted this January. A catalogue whereof, under Sandys the Bishop of London's own hand, take as followeth.

477 *Names of the books.*

Popish books taken.

In number

20 A Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth and the Crown of England. Imprinted in January 1572.

367 Motives to the Catholic Faith. By Richard Bristowe, Priest, Licentiate in Divinity. Imprinted at Antwerp 1574.

9 A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Translated into English by Dr. Butler. Dedicated to the Bushop of St. Asaph from Rome. Printed at Antwerp 1570.

5 Officium Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, nuper reformatum, et Pii V. Pontificis Max. jussu editum. Printed at Antwerp 1572.

1 The History of the Church of England, written by Beda, and translated by Tho. Stapleton. Printed at Antwerp 1565.

A Fortress of the Faith, first planted among us Englishmen. Made by Tho. Stapleton. Printed at Antwerp 1565.

28 A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation. Made by Sir Tho. More. Printed at Antwerp 1573.

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700 A great number of sheets printed, containing a Miracle wrought upon an Englishwoman at Bruxelles, 1573.

CHAP. XLI.

Anno 1574.

Leicester labours the trouble of the Archbishop.

This good Archbishop, as his integrity and learning deservedly reconciled him a high respect and veneration generally, so he was not without his enemies, that bore him as great ill-will. And they were the Puritan party, and a great Earl particularly; who, I make little or no doubt, was Leicester. He had borne him an ill-will a great while, and now in the latter end of this year resolved to exert all his strength and interest, to create trouble and vexation to him; taking his rise so to do from the Archbishop's diligence in discovering the late pretended plot, and for executing some act of justice upon a particular person, which, as it seems, he had a letter from the Court not to do. Imprisonment, and I know not what beside, was threatened him. And for the compassing of this, the Earl made use of the counsel and aid of the Precisians. This the Archbishop signified, as he did all his affairs, to his old friend the Lord Treasurer; telling him, "that he was credibly "informed that the Earl was unquiet, and conferred to "use the counsel of certain Precisians, he feared; and pur-"posed to undo him. But, he said, he cared not for him: "yet he would reverence him, because her Majesty had so "placed him; as, he said, he did all others towards her:" warning the Lord Treasurer, "that if he did not provide "in time to dull this attempt, there would be few in au-"thority that would care greatly for your danger, said he, "and for such others," [meaning the nobility and gentry, which he always had a conceit these Puritan principles tended to bring down, and equal with the commonalty.] He further told the Treasurer, "that those of his order "would hereafter provide for themselves; and would learn "by him, in his case, how to do. He was informed by a "wise man, that there was a conspiracy against the Church-"men, purposed, if the Parliament had gone forward. For "at them, he said, they shot.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1574.

His behaviour under his enemies' threatenings.

"As for himself, he added, he cared not three points: "for, if he should lie in prison for doing a point of justice "with charitable discretion, he would rejoice in it. Whatsoever wealth or commodity might stand in his office, he "desired it not for himself. Yet he wrote to this Earl, "and to another courtier, who was one of the greatest of "that party of Puritans," [probably Sir Francis Knollys.] "But it was not, he said, in a submission, as some of the "crew reported and took it. For he had not offended him "nor them, except it were in being careful for the Lord "Treasurer's safeguard. And that the Earl peaceably "wrote again to him," [dissembling his malice like a right courtier,] "but he notwithstanding understood what was pur-"posed against him. For religion sake he took it." And 478 taking this occasion again, he rounds the Treasurer in the ear, that he himself had cause to stir in this matter. "And "do you think, saith he, they know not what religion you "be of, and what ye do therein?" And indeed in their ordinary talk they called the Treasurer the Dean of Westminster, because they observed that Dean so much with him, and acted, as they thought, so much by his instructions. They took occasion to vent their malice towards the Archbishop, by being very rigorous towards those that belonged to him. So they kept in the King's Bench an honest old man, a very good and modest preacher, and sometime his Almoner, whom the Archbishop had sent home to his benefice to do good; and yet in extremity of law, against all conscience, in the Court of Requests condemned and persecuted for love of him. It was a matter proceeding partly from covetousness, but more from mere malice: and upon that account favoured. There he had laid three or four months in a nasty prison chargeably, and rotting among the worst. But, said the Archbishop to the Lord Treasurer, to whom he made all this narration, he should be there still, before he would serve their turns. "I may not work "against Precisians and Puritans, saith he, though the laws "be against them."

Their malice against him.

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Apologizes for himself.

He said moreover, in his own vindication, if he had been led with the vehement words of the first statute, before he was in place, how Archbishops and Bishops be charged, "as they would answer before God;" which words he had put to the Earl's consideration advisedly; if he set forth that religion, which he knew in conscience was good, and confirmed by public authority; if he did the Queen's commandment; (for which, he said, the Precisians hated him;) what was meant, but to go over the stile where it was lowest? By which proverb he meant, that when they had so little regard of all these his commendable qualities, or, at least, innocent and justifiable actions, as to take an advantage against him for some little matters to bring him into trouble, this shewed how watchful they were to wreak their spleen upon him.

The Bishops shrink away from him.

Divers of his brethren, the Bishops, seeing the strength of the contrary party, were now slunk away from him, and divers others wrought secretly against him, for the satisfying of some of their partial friends. Of which he complained to his old friend, that he saw and felt this by experience. So that it irked him sorely to see that he could not do that good service for God and the Church that his high place required of him, using these words: "I toy out my "time, said he, partly with copying of books, partly in de-"vising ordinances for scholars to help the ministry, partly "in genealogies, &c." A very slender account of the business of a Metropolitan, and chief overseer of the Church. Meaning hereby not to reflect upon himself, who was thus obstructed from doing more, but upon some others, that should have assisted him in his more weighty endeavours about the Church. For so he proceeded: "I have very "little help, if ye knew all, where I thought to have had "most: and thus, said he, till Almighty God comes, I re-"pose myself in patience." His letter, as having great remark in it, I have cast into the Appendix. No. XCV.

His enemies strive to make him odious to the Court.

He came now but very seldom to Court, and seldomer wrote to the Court or Council, as knowing to how little purpose it would be. Nor did he much like the books

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1574.

now in vogue at the Court, some in French, and some wrote dialogue-wise: such as probably humoured the air of the present Court, and the French marriage. This also his enemies made use of to render him odious at Court. For this was the common talk thrown out by them; that it must be of some *policy*, [meaning that word in the worst sense,] that he neither writ, nor oft came to the Court: and that he should say, that he liked not these dialogues, these treatises, these French books. They had moreover set his own people and dependents against him; so that the chief of those that clapped up his poor ancient Almoner, before spoken of, and kept him in the King's Bench, and got the rigour of law to pass against him, were such as the Archbishop had especially made, and who at that day had the most part of their living from him. These matters happened in February.

Minds the Treasurer of the diocese of Norwich.

But yet, in the midst of all these discouragements from the Court, he would not cease to intercede for the dioceses vacant, Landaff and Norwich. He trusted, as he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, her Highness, with the advice of him, 479 the Treasurer, would take good heed, and especially for providing of such as should govern those dioceses: and as for that of Norwich, his native city, he liked well his neighbour at Westminster, the Dean there; whose sad and sure governance in conformity he knew. He added, that he set not one halfpenny by the profit of the diocese, for any pro-

His trouble and disappointment in the visitation thereof.

curations or jurisdictions. And at his last metropolitical visitation there, he had never a penny of them. And this out of a commiseration of the poor estate of the Clergy there. But notwithstanding, certain persons, who were the visitors, (nominated and put upon him, as it seems, by some of the Court,) were as ravenous and oppressive in the diocese, as he was tender and sparing. He spent then twenty pounds out of his own purse to have the diocese well visited. But the visitors' business was to get what they could, and to skrew out money from the poor; upon pretence probably of concealments, which they threatened to return into the Exchequer, right or wrong. And so, for the preventing of

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that, the poor Ministers were glad to give large bribes to stop any such, however unjust, informations. This extremely grieved the good Archbishop. He was informed that some varlets purchased twenty pounds a year per ann. by their bribing, whom some of his visitors used. But he knew not of it till all was done, and the visitation over: otherwise he would certainly have discharged such dishonest persons of the office, and have stopped such abuses. So that in the end, notwithstanding his own expenses and care to have the diocese duly visited, no good was done, and the country exclaimed upon them. These visitors seem to have been appointed to examine, among other things, into lands concealed from the Crown, upon pretence that the Queen might have no damage, but indeed to wrack and impoverish the Church, and to disgrace and grieve the Archbishop. Which made him say, with respect to this affair, "that though he had a dull head, yet he saw, partly by "himself, and partly by others, how the game went." This discomfort and disappointment, as the Archbishop met with in his visitation of the diocese of Norwich, so we shall see by and by what opposition he met with a month or two after, when he came to visit the church.

An earthquake in the north.

There was, February 26, about five at night, an earthquake in the north parts: which passed through Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Durham, and Lancashire; as the Archbishop of York wrote to our Archbishop, and supposed it was felt in the south parts. It was not great, nor lasted a minute of an hour. In York it shook not down so much as a tile; yet it put them in great fear of some greater matter to follow. He added, that there was the like in Croydon in Archbishop Cranmer's time in King Edward's days, not long before his death, as he supposed: the certain time he thought worthy the learning; fearing, as it seems, this present earthquake to portend the Queen's death. To all this the Archbishop of Canterbury made this reply; that for this earthquake he had not heard of it, nor was it felt in the south parts. And as for the prognostication of it, *Deus est, faciat quod bonum est in oculis suis.* That earthquake in Edward the Sixth's time above mentioned was felt

Stow.

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BOOK IV. in several places in Surry, lasting a quarter of an hour, May 25, 1551.

Anno 1574. In March the Archbishop began his visitation of the church of Norwich, according to the custom upon vacancies of the sees: but the Dean and Chapter withstood him; and that upon pretence of a *rotten* composition, as he called it. By that old composition, all they might claim was, to have one of three *de gremio suo* only in time of visitation, and examining of the *comperts* found in the same. And yet their predecessor himself had confessed, that *sedibus vacantibus* the Archbishop had all the jurisdiction the Bishop had *sede plena*. But they now denied it him. They appealed into the Chancery very fondly, saith the Archbishop, and went about to deface his jurisdiction, whereof Dr. Styward was the *Custos*. This brought the Archbishop to the Court, to answer the Dean of Norwich and his Chapter, being about to take out a commission themselves; which he proposed to answer, if it should come so far.

The Dean and Chapter of Norwich withstand the Archbishop's visitation.

These his concerns the Archbishop communicated to his brother of York, being now sick in his bed, March 17. On which very day Dr. Pern recommended to him the foresaid Dr. Styward, then the Archbishop's Keeper of the Spiritualties in the diocese of Norwich, to be preferred to the chancellorship there, now, as it seems, void: and that upon account of his fitness and abilities for the place, and disposition to maintain good order. And this was Pern's letter:

Dr. Styward to be Chancellor of Norwich.

480 "My duty in most humble wise unto your Grace remem-
"bered. Whereas Mr. Dr. Styward, now *Custos Spiritu-*
"*alitatis* at Norwich, purposeth by his friends (for that he
"may be the better known to your Grace) to be an humble
"suitor to your Grace for the chancellorship there; these
"may be therefore most humbly to pray your Grace to
"further his suit, in preferring of him to the said office:
"for that I am fully persuaded of him to be such an
"one, both for his honest behaviour, sufficient learning,
"good discretion, soundness in religion, and also for the
"setting forth and maintaining of good order and repress-
"ing the contrary, as in my judgment is fit for that place,

Dr. Pern to the Archbishop. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

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"and may do as much good in that country, as any that "I do know can be placed in that room. And in this "your Grace's furthering of his desire, you shall not only "pleasure Mr. Dr. Styward, but also greatly profit him "that shall be Bishop there, and all the whole country: "which, in my opinion, will uprightly and stoutly reform "great disorders, as well in religion as also in manners, in "that great disordered diocese. And thus I pray Almighty "God long to preserve your Grace in his blessed tuition. "From Cambridge, the 17th of this March, 1574.

"Your Grace's most humble daily orator,

"Andrew Perne."

Parkhurst, the last Bishop of Norwich, was no urger of conformity to the laws established for religion, and had exercised a very lax government in his church, so that his diocese ran into great disorders in religion and in manners too; which as it was a great trouble to the Archbishop, out of his love to his native country, so he laboured all he could for an able successor to reform that diocese: and Dr. Perne particularly recommended Styward for Chancellor, because he was one that would uprightly and stoutly reform these disorders.

The Archbishop takes care to have a book of discipline answered.

Towards the latter end of this year came forth a Latin book *De Disciplina*, in behalf of the Puritans' way of discipline. It was now the care of the Archbishop to get it well answered, as he had done other books of that nature. Several were recommended to him by the Archbishop of York for the doing it: as, Aylmer, Archdeacon of Lincoln. But he, how fit soever, would not take the pains. The reason of which possibly might be some discontent conceived, that he had been so long laid aside, and little notice taken of him, notwithstanding his good learning and former merits. Besides Aylmer, Mr. Stil, Mr. Dean of Paul's, and Mr. Watts, were nominated. To the first of these Bishop Parker had sent the book; but, according to the Archbishop of York's conjecture, he sent the Archbishop of Canterbury word, that he could not deal therein, after he had kept the book a great

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1574.

while; and the Archbishop had much ado to get it again. But at length the Archbishop had it done by some other hand; who handled it, as he said, indifferently well. But he intended to keep it some time by him, and would have more judgments before he put it out. But by whom this answer was made appeareth not: I suppose by one of his Chaplains.

Lowth disordered in the north.

There was now one Lowth of the north, a pretended Minister, detected by virtue of the commission, as it seems, sent lately by the Queen's special order to the Archbishop of York, (as the like was to the rest of the Bishops,) to have exercised the ministerial function and some spiritual jurisdiction for fifteen or sixteen years, and yet altogether unqualified for it. For of him the Archbishop of York wrote to his brother of Canterbury; that after examination he was like to be found never to have taken Orders, and to be neither Priest nor Minister. He was one of those that varied from the Orders of the Church, and neglected the rules of it. Of his disordered dealings, the said Archbishop of York complained to Archbishop Parker; and shewed him how he had writ letters full of slander; terming the Archbishop's doings, and the other Commissioners in the south parts, to be like the Spanish inquisition. This man was now coming, or come up, to make suit to the Queen and the Archbishop for some faculty or dispensation, to enable him to execute that office which he was found so unqualified for: which the Archbishop of York said was intolerable, and prayed his Grace to stay it, if he could. To whom the Archbishop promised, that, since he had sent to him to stay any facul-
481 ties, and sent him warning in time, he intended not to gratify his [Puritan] friends thereby, nor yet to favour his suit that might be made unto him out of Carlisle.

The Queen deceived in wrongful payments of pensions.

By this time many or most of the pensions allowed and paid out of the Exchequer to the religious men belonging to the dissolved monasteries, ceased by their deaths or promotions. But those that were concerned in the payment of them made their advantages to the great injury of the Queen. For the Tellers of the Exchequer, and the Receivers, made this benefit; that when any of these died or

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were promoted, they brought in their accounts to the Queen, as though they had paid some a year after, some a year and half after, some two, some three, some four or five years, one seven years after. Which payments indeed they never made, but put that money up into their own pockets. This one Litchfield knowing of and informing, got a commission from the Queen for searching out all these untrue payments and allowances, and of all other false payments of annuities, fees, pensions, and corrodies, since the 32d year of King Henry VIII. to the year of his coming into office, which was in or near this year. He had, by virtue of this commission, a power of taking out commissions from the Court of Exchequer, to divers and sundry Bishops of England and Wales; and also to sundry other persons in several shires of England, who were the Queen's general Receivers, some for some counties, and some for others, or Tellers in the Exchequer. But as this Litchfield, by these his sharp inquisitions, found out the deceits of these Receivers and Tellers; so he scraped from them and kept good shares of their unjust gains to himself, and gave no true account thereof to the Exchequer. But after divers years his frauds also were discovered by others that informed against him, as he had done against others. The deceits found out by Litchfield were as follows:

The total sum of the wrongful payments in the general Receivers' accounts, with the payments of Priests' pensions after they were promoted, amounted to 4561*l.* 19*s.*

In several Receivers' accounts for pensions allowed to divers spiritual persons, preferred and promoted to sundry benefices by the Queen's Majesty and her progenitors; as appeared by conference of the copies of the records, and the copies of presentations taken out of the Rolls, the sum of 2706*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*

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BOOK IV.

CHAP. XLII.

Corranus, the Spanish Preacher, reads a Divinity lecture in the Temple: complained of to the Archbishop for Pelagianism. Marlorat's Thesaurus recommended by the Archbishop. Grants a licence for his son's chapel. Makes a new way to the Schools in Cambridge. Gives books to the University library. Dr. Perne's and the University's letters to him hereupon. More benefactions to Bene't college. A book called The Life of the Seventieth Archbishop; *abusive of him, and the* British Antiquities. *Commission for concealments stopped.*

Anno 1574. Corranus, the Spanish Preacher, suspected of false doctrine.

TO draw to a conclusion of this year, I shall take up a few matters still remaining. One is concerning Anthonius Corranus, a Spaniard by birth, born in Seville, but a learned professor of the Gospel, for which he was an exile from his own country. He had been preacher to a congregation of Protestant Spaniards in London; but now was a Reader of
482 Divinity in the Temple, London. This man did somewhat vary from Calvin and Beza in the doctrine of *predestination* and *freewill*. Which created him trouble from the Ministers and Elders of the Strangers' church in London, whereof he was a member: and so it did now from Mr. Alvey, the Master of the Temple, as though the doctrine he read was not sound. And he was so much the more suspected, because he used very earnestly to press good works. Alvey came to the Archbishop of Canterbury to have his counsel how to deal with Corranus, Reader in the Temple, because, as he said, some of his auditory did dislike him, for affirming freewill, and speaking not wisely of predestination, and suspiciously uttering his judgment concerning Arianism. For the which, some of the wiser sort of the auditory had forsaken him: but several took Corranus's part. And it seems to have been the Disciplinarians that were chiefly his adversaries, and who gave him much trouble. But let us hear what he can say for himself.

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CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1574.

Reads a Divinity lecture in the Temple, anno 1571.

In the year 1571. he was by both Temples chose to read a Divinity lecture in their company, with the allowance and confirmation of Edwin, Bishop of London: and he received much courtesy and respect from the Templars. In 1573. he read upon the Epistle to the Romans. And in 1574. he contracted his lectures into a theological dialogue, wherein that Epistle was explained, and then printed them. And that for two causes; "I. That the reading of the book might bring "the things again to their remembrance, which he had "handled more at large in his readings. And, II. That "there might remain some public writing among them as a "record, both to them that were absent, and to such as "should come after, of the pureness of the doctrine which "he taught in their company; and how much he abhorred "the opinion of sectaries, which troubled the Churches "nowadays with their errors. And he called them for his "witnesses, after what manner he confuted the froward "opinions of the Pelagians and self-justifiers in the dis-"course of justification. They knew also with how great "diligence he had in the discourse of *predestination*, or of "the calling of the Gentiles, unfolded and confuted both "the madness of the Stoics, and chiefly the horrible blas-"phemies of the Manichees. And that by his shewing of "these breaknecks they might keep their pass in the King's "highway without stumbling, and embrace the Apostles' "doctrine as the only rule of truth: as he wrote to them "in his epistle before his book."

Prints his lectures upon the Romans.

Vindicates himself from Pelagianism.

The poor man had undergone great troubles, not only from Papists in Spain, in France, and Flanders, but by the officers of the French Church in London; complaining of him both to Bishop Grindal and Beza, before the time he was chosen Reader at the Temple; having been cast out of other places upon suspicion of his doctrine. But under these afflictions he seemed to carry himself very Christianly. "He "prayed Christ to help him in bearing of his cross, and so to "hold and bear up with his mighty hand the burden of it, "that he might patiently and willingly bear it with him. That "God would not suffer his heart to be tickled with revenge

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BOOK IV.

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"against such as stained him, defamed him, persecuted "him, and troubled him. He prayed that the minds of "his persecutors might one day be bowed and turned. "For to speak, as he said, with a good conscience, what he "thought in his heart, he had rather contend with those men "in duties of charity, than in slanderous epistles, or biting "books, and spiteful writings; as most unseemly weapons, "which Christian soldiers ought to abhor, and much less "could in any wise become the preachers of the Gospel. "Wherefore, as long as he could, he would ward their in-"juries with prayer, and use modest defences, lest he took "harm in the mean while by holding his peace." And for his better vindication of himself, he put forth this year with his dialogue, articles of his faith: which he did, as he said, to disprove such as slandered him with Pelagianism without any just cause, only because he exhorted his hearers to good works: which he denied not, but owned that he did so very diligently: howbeit, not for that he thought the children of Adam to be able to attain salvation by their own strength without the grace of God. "For I impute," said he, "the "beginning, the increase, and the accomplishment of our "salvation and happiness to the only free favour and grace "of God. But forasmuch as I see man's nature forward "enough of itself to embrace vain carelessness and fleshly "liberty, I minded, that my saying should rather hold "them in awe, and lead them away from the pleasures and
483 "delights of this world, as it were by casting a bridle "upon them, than putting spurs to them, running already "of their own accord to do evil." This man afterwards lived at Oxford many years; and bringing letters commendatory from the Chancellor of that University, read a catechetical lecture there; was *Censor Theologicus* in Christ's Church, and had a prebend in St. Paul's, London.

Prints articles of his faith.

Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 221.

This year Marlorat's Thesaurus was printed, entitled, *Propheticæ et Apostolicæ*, i. e. *totius divinæ ac canonicæ Scripturæ Thesaurus*. It was digested into common places, and taken out of the *Adversaria* of Augustin Marlorat, by Guillaum Feuguereius. The Vidam of Chartres, a Pro-

Marlorat's Thesaurus comes forth with the Archbishop's recommendation.

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testant learned nobleman of France, now in London, who had fled over hither, having escaped the Paris massacre, desired the Archbishop's judgment and recommendation of the book. Whereat he approving it as very useful for preachers and ministers, wrote thus to the said Vidam: *Voluntatem ac consilium istius optimi ac industrii viri Dni. Feuguerii in hoc suo Thesauro conflando, nos ac nobiscum ex nostris nonnulli diligenter admodum consideravimus. Atque hoc quidem statuimus, illius viri industriam summis laudibus dignam esse, et ab omnibus amplectendam: ipsumque opus cunctis pastoribus et Ecclesiæ ministris apprimè utile ac pernecessarium videri. Deus O. M. Dominationem T. quam diutissimè servet incolumem. Lambethi, idibus Januariis.*

Dominationis T. bonus amicus,

Matthæus Cantuar.

This recommendation was inserted into the book with this Preface, *Reverendiss. Domini Archiep. Cantuariensis de hoc opere ad clarissimum heroa Vidamium Carnutensem judicium.*

A licence for John Parker, Esquire. N. Battely.

John Parker, the Archbishop's only surviving son, now entitled Esquire, was at this time possessed of Nunney Castle in Somersetshire, and the Duke's House in Lambeth, which lately was his brother's, deceased; as appears by this ample and remarkable licence dated this March, granted to him by his father. Which was, "to have common prayer "said, and the Communion and other holy offices cele-"brated within the oratory, or any other place in his house "at Lambeth, called the Duke's House, or Nunney Castle "in Somersetshire, and in any other house where he should "be and dwell, throughout the kingdom of England. And "his wife, children, friends, and family, might also be pre-"sent with him at the same divine offices there performed; "so it were performed by some fit Minister, and in a fit "place: and that none might force or compel them to re-"sort to the parish church: provided hereby no prejudice "were done to the parochial church, or the respective

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"Rectors or Vicars in their profits: and that twice in the "year, he, his wife, and family, repair to the parish church, "to be present at the service there." This licence may be found in the Appendix. It served both for the security of his Chaplain performing the public offices of the Church privately, and for his and his family's convenience, that they might not be obliged to resort to the parish church, which sometimes might happen to be a mile, two or three, distant from his house. Such a licence, *mutatis mutandis*, the Archbishop granted to his wife in the year 1570, when he had granted her the house mentioned before, called the Duke's House, out of his care for her convenience, if she had survived him.

N°. XCVI.

The reason of licences.

Such licences were usual in these times, when absenters from their parish churches used to be more strictly looked after by the parish officers, and presented at the spiritual courts. Thus such a licence was granted by the Archbishop to a gentleman for absence from his parish church in winter time, because the ways were extreme dirty, and the man infirm and sickly, and so not able to get to church: and, as it seemed, no Minister dared to use public prayers in a private family without such licence.

University Street in Cambridge made by the Archbishop.

The Archbishop made a new street this year in Cambridge, named University Street, the soil of which had formerly belonged to several colleges; that so a more handsome sight might be of the public Schools, obstructed before by the town houses. This way to the Schools he also paved, and built a brick wall on each side against the Schools, and half way of the street, and topped the walls with square
484 stone; and then gave this way and these walls unto the University. His donation is extant in an instrument of his own hand, which may be seen in the Appendix. Which benefit that it might not die and be lost by time, he bound the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi college in that University, and their successors for ever, to repair the way and the walls, as often as need should require.

N°. XCVII.

Gives books to the library there.

The Archbishop shewed himself a benefactor this year also to the said University in another respect, namely, by

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enriching the public library there with many of his books; which Dr. Perne, now Vice-Chancellor, did thankfully acknowledge by his letter in the name of the University, together with the many other tokens of his generosity and favour to it. The said Perne being also of a public spirit towards the good estate of this University, backed and countenanced by the Archbishop, set himself to furnish this library, to make it of use and reputation. For which purpose he was come up this year to London, the better to solicit eminent men to be benefactors to it; having in the mean time his harbour and board at Lambeth with the Archbishop. And he found success in these his commendable pains; for he got books from the Lord Keeper, the Bishop of Winchester, and divers other honourable persons, as well as from the Archbishop. When Perne returned to Cambridge, he was employed in making convenient places and receptacles for the books of each benefactor, that their books might have standings distinct by themselves; that so each giver might be the better remembered to posterity. The account of this, and the sensible acknowledgment of all the Archbishop's kindnesses shewn to Cambridge, did the said Doctor thus express in his said letter, writ in November.

Dr. Perne's letter to the Archbishop. MSS. D. Joh. Ep. Elien. No. 757.

"As your Grace's great charges divers ways bestowed "upon the University shall redound to a singular and per- "petual commodity to the same; so your Grace's careful "and prudent disposing of the same hath brought no less "beauty and ornament, in the setting forth of all those "places, where your Grace hath bestowed any cost. The "which doth appear in your Grace's college, in St. Mary's "church, in the houses and street between St. Mary's "church and the Schools, in the School gates: and now last "of all, in the singular beauty that the comely order of "your Grace's books doth bring to the University library, "to the great delectation of the eye of every man that "shall enter into the said library. I do judge the mind of "other that loveth learning and the University by my

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"own great delectation that I do conceive of that comely "placing of the said books; the which shall be a perpetual "testimony of your Grace's singular goodness and great "kindness to the University; the which shall be always "bound thereby to pray unto Almighty God for your "Grace. For the which your Grace's benefits generally "bestowed on the whole University, I myself am not only "greatly bound to be thankful unto your Grace, but also "for your particular benefits and special fatherly goodness "that you have shewed unto me from time to time, in re-"ceiving me into your house at meat, drink, and lodging, "while I did follow the suit, and procure books and other "things for the benefit of the University, of divers honour-"able persons, as your Grace knoweth; but also for divers "books, the which your Grace hath given freely, some, "and other some you have lent unto me; for the borrow-"ing whereof I send unto your Grace a note of my hand "here included.

"I do send to your Grace also a paper containing the "form of the length and bigness of those three places, "wherein my Lord Keeper mindeth to grave the names of "all his books. The which I send unto your Grace, for that "there might be the like drawn of all my Lord of Winches-"ter's books: the which shall be at your Grace's pleasure.

"I do send also a note of such as have died of the plague "since the beginning of this year, in Cambridge hitherto; "the which I pray God cease when it shall be his plea-"sure, that the scholars of the University may return after "Christmas to the accustomed exercises in learning. And "thus I humbly take my leave of your Grace. From "Cambridge the 22d of November, 1574.

"Your Grace's most bounden daily orator,

"Andrew Perne."

485 It may not be amiss to give some account of the books themselves, which the Archbishop gave to the University library. They were an hundred in number, divided into four parcels, containing twenty-five volumes each; accord-

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ing to the catalogue extant among the additions, at the end of the Latin life of Matthæus.

CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1574.

What the Archbishop's books given were.

The first parcel consisted of these twenty-five volumes following. 1. Registrum Chronicorum cum Imaginibus pictis, in folio maximo, incipiens ab Adamo, et finiens in anno 4. Henrici VII. viz. 12 Julii, 1493. 2. Biblia Plantini in 8 voluminibus. 10. Biblia Latina ex versione Sebast. Castalionis. 11. Novum Testamentum Hebraicè et Syriacè, per Immanuel. Tremellium, cum Grammatica Syriaca. Impress. per Henricum Stephanum. 12. Concordantiæ majores librorum utriusque Testamenti. 13, 14. Evangelia quatuor Saxonicè: bis in quarto. 15. Scholia Græca in Epistolas, Acta Apostolorum, et Apocalypsin. 16. Euseb. cum Vita Constantini Imperatoris. Socratis Scholastici, Theodoreti Episcopi Cirensis. Collectaneorum ex Theodoro, Hieron. Sozomen. Evagrii Scholastici. Omnes Græcè impressi Lutetiæ-Parisiorum ex officina R. Stephani, regiis Typis anno 1544. 17. Gesneri Historia de Animalibus depictis. fol. 6. in fine de Additionibus et Castigationibus. 18. Gesneri Historia de Piscibus depict. 19. Gesneri Historia de Avibus depict. fol. p. 27. de Appendice Historiæ. 20. Gesneri Bibliotheca, cum Joanne Bale De Scriptoribus Anglicis. 21. Historia Matthæi Paris, incipiens ab Guilielmo Conquest. et finiens in anno 56. Hen. III. scil. 1271. 22. Historia Matthæi Westmonast. incipiens ab Adamo ad 15. annum Edwardi I. viz. ann. Dom. 1307, cum quibusdam rebus de Academia Cantabrigien. 23. Elfredi Regis Res gestæ, cum Historia brevi Tho. de Walsingham, et Ypodigmate Neustriæ. 24, 25. De Antiquitate et Historia Cantabr. in quarto, bis.

The second parcel of twenty-five books consists of writers upon the Old Testament. 1. J. Calvini in 5 Libros Moysis. 2. Munsteri 1 Lib. Bibliorum. 3. Munsteri 2 Libr. Bibliorum, &c. 25. Gualter. in 12 Prophetas minores.

The third parcel of the same number of volumes bears this title, *Scriptores in Novum Testamentum*. Some of the first under this title are, 1. Calvini Institutio. Musculi Loci

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Communes. 2. Theodor. Bezæ in Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine, bis. 3. Erasmi Annotationes in Novum Testamentum. 4. Erasmi Paraphrasis in Novum Testamentum. 5. Calvini Harmonia in 4 Evangelistis. Buceri in 4 Evangelia. 6. R. Stephani in 3 Evangelia. Zuinglii in 4 Evangelia, &c. 25. De Martyribus J. Foxe, et Pantaleon. I observe concerning these commentators, that they are all Luther and Calvin and other Protestant, German or Helvetian, writers.

The fourth parcel of the twenty-five volumes (which makes the hundred complete) is entitled, *Libri scripti*, (which are in vellum.) And because they are MSS. I will specify them at length, for the knowledge and benefit of any that be minded to consult such writings.

Manuscripts.

1. Coletus de duobus Evangelistis, fol. maximo. 2. Evangelia quatuor Saxonicè. 3. Bedæ Historia Britannica Saxon. versa per Aluredum. 4. Psalterium cum expositione, in charta, Græcè. 5. Libri Paralipomenon 1 et 2. Hypomnesticon Josephi, Testamentum duodecim Patriarcharum, Græcè. 6. Pastoralia Gregorii Saxonicè. 7. Photius in Epistolas, Græcè. 8. Homiliæ quædam Chrysostomi, Græcè. 9. Homiliæ diversæ 34 Saxonicè. 10. Genesis cum Homiliis 51 Saxonicè. 11. Eusebius cum Histor. Hieron. Prosperi, Sigisberti, R. Abbatis, H. Huntingdon ad Warinum. 12. Doctrinale Antiquitatum Ecclesiæ per Tho. Walden. 13. De Sacramentis ejusdem Tho. Walden. 14. Epistolarum Pontificum et Canonum Pars prima. 15. Epistolarum similium Pars secunda. 16. Polychronicon, sive Ranulph. Cestren. 17. Memoriale Historiarum, incipiens a Julio Cæsare, et finiens ann. Dom. 1321. 14° Edw. II. 18. Speculum Historiale de gestis rerum Angliæ. 19. Chronica Abindoniæ per R. Gisburn. 20. Gervasii Dorobernen. Historia. 21. Gildas, Beda, Nennius, Simon Dunelmen. de Sto Cutberto, de Hagulstadien. Ecclesia, Girald. Cambren. Galfrid. de Fontibus, &c. 22. Gulielm. Malmsburien. de Pontificibus, cum novella Historia. Itinerarium Regis Richardi I. Et Historia Galfrid. Monumetensis. 23. Grammatica et Historia Angliæ,

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Saxonicè. 24. Gul. Malmsbury de Regibus, cum Historia H. Huntingdon. 25. Martianus Minæus de 7 artibus liberalibus. At the end of each volume is set down what number of pages each contain, for the better preserving of the books entire.

Anno 1574.

I find the Archbishop in this month of November stiring up the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor of that University, to send the books he intended to the library; and as he had solicited his Lordship before to this good intention, so upon some delays he entreated him to be as good as his purposes were; urging moreover what good it would do them of the University, and would be an honest testimony of his love to learning.

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Moves the Lord Treasurer for books.

And now our Archbishop, having been thus many ways a benefactor to the University, (as, in laying open a convenient way to the public Schools, by a decent approach to them; their buildings there splendidly finished at his charges; their library augmented and adorned; encouragements and rewards by him given to their studies and merits,) the University, as it were conquered with these repeated instances of his bounty and good-will, sent him a well-penned letter, full of a sense of their obligation and affection to him: mentioning also therein, how Dr. Perne, a great lover of them, and studier of their welfare, had declared all the Archbishop's benefits towards them, and especially the choice collections of books that he had bestowed on them.

The University sensible of the Archbishop's benefactions.

E Registro Liter. Orator. publ.

This letter was as follows, (for I will do it no injury by translating it into English:)

Si de literis benè mereri, egregium imprimis et honorificum semper fuit, sique ille de literis optimè meretur, non modo qui summo studio easdem ipse colit, sed alios etiam ad illarum cognitionem assequendam, et cohortatione incitat, et præmio impellit; nœ tu quidem (illustrissime præsul) optimus bonarum literarum patronus censeri debes; qui non ipse modo, cum magna semper laude in literis versatus es, sed in aliis etiam easdem admiraris, ope atque auxilio juvas, præmio

Their letter to him.

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et mercede liberaliter exornas, haud vulgari honore afficis, et magnifacis.

Anno 1574.

Ut enim summo splendore surgentia, et sumptibus tuis perfecta ædificia, ut stratas magnificè plateas, et ad omnium conspectum patefactas, et splendidè exornatas publicas scholas, ut alia tua omittamus opera, quibus Academiam nostram mirum in modum auctam et locupletatam, omnibus pænè ornamentis fulgentem aspicimus; bibliothecam, certè nostram silentio præterire nullo modo possumus. In quâ tu nobis augendâ, amplificandâ, adornandâ quàm solicitus fueris, quantas curas susceperis, quam nullis impensis, nulli sumptui peperceris, et tui et Academiæ amantissimus Pernus nobis patefecit, et literæ tuæ à nonnullis nostrûm perlectæ testantur, et libri etiam tanta cura et diligentia undique conquisiti, tam artificiosè ad perpetuitatem usque compacti, tam liberaliter nobis donati, tam propter antiquitatem rari, propter dignitatem et excellentiam conspicui, propter utilitatem necessarii, clarissimam jampridem unicuique nostrûm fidem fecerunt. Qui neque de eisdem aptè quidem suoque ordine collocandis, curam omisisse videri velis, ne quod amantissimam in matrem Academiam, alumni munus et officium prætermisisse videreris.

Pro quo in nos animo verè paterno, pro quâ divinâ liberalitate, quibus te laudibus efferemus? Quibus prosequemur studiis? Quâ amplectemur benevolentiâ? Nullius tantum est flumen ingenii, nulla dicendi vis tam efficax, nulla scribendi tam abundans copia, quæ non modo non exornare, sed quæ tua in nos beneficia enarrare possit. Vicit, vicit ingenia nostra humanitas tua; quæ hoc ipso tamen est illustrior, quod in eos beneficia conferas, qui in eisdem satisfacere, non modo ipsâ re, sed ne verbis quidem et oratione, unquam possint. Quod tametsi nos, ut nihil magis, solicitos reddat, hoc unum tamen solatii cepimus, quod non unà cum facultate, voluntatem etiam ac bene merendi desiderium fortuna eripuerit; quibus tuam (ornatissime) benignitatem, in Academiam amorem, in homines Academicos munificentiam, in bonas literas pietatem omni officio prosequemur, benevolentiâ colemus sempiternâ, summisque et ipsi laudibus efferemus, posterisque nostris ad

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perpetuam liberalitatis memoriam commendabimus. Atque à divino numine, omnium custode et gubernatore, summis quotidie votis humiliter contendemus, ut paternitatem et Ecclesiam suam, cui tam solicitè praees, et reipub. nostræ, cui tam benè consulis, et matri tuæ Academiæ, quam tantopere diligis, et bonis literis, quas tanto studio tanquam in sinu foves, et hominibus literatis, qui tanto sumptu alis, tam magno amore prosequeris, quàm diutissimè incolumem servare velit. Vale, dat. Cantabr. tertio nonas Novembr. 1574.

Reverendis. in Christo Patri ac Domino
D. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, &c.

At this very time letters of thanks were sent also to the 487
Bishops of Winchester and Durham, and the Lord Keeper, for the books which they likewise had given to the University library by the Archbishop's means and solicitation.

Increases the commons of Bene't college; and founds a Registrary.

And as he was thus beneficial to the University this year, so he was again to his beloved college, adding yet a further benefit to it, by the paying of 500*l.* of clear money to the Master and Fellows, for the increase of the commons of the Fellows and Scholars. To the finding whereof the said 500*l.* were employed to 18*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* yearly. And furthermore, there was granted to a Registrary of his founding his whole commons, with one chamber among the Norwich Scholars. An indenture whereof the Archbishop caused to be made, (according to his custom, for the better and surer preservation of the memory of it,) dated the 27th of August, 1574. Which witnessed, that the Archbishop had given to Bene't college all the ground lying within the new brick wall enclosing University Street, south and west, and upon the ground of the said Master and Fellows, east and north. And that they had received of him already the sum of 500*l.* For which they covenanted to repair all the books from time to time given by the Archbishop, contained in certain registers or indexes tripartite thereof made: and to augment the three messes of meat of the Master and Fellows, 2*d.* the mess at dinner, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday; amounting weekly

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to 2*s.* 6*d.* and by the year 6*l.* 10*s.* And to augment the five messes of Scholars every day in the week, both at dinner and supper, that is, 5*s.* 10*d.* in the week, and 16*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in the year.

The Registrary to be from Norwich.

The Register abovesaid for Corpus Christi college, the Archbishop ordered to be chosen from the city of Norwich, after the same manner and form as the other three Norwich Scholars were to be chosen, specified in an indenture dated the 24th of June, *anno Regin.* 9. And that this Register should be skilful and dexterous in writing, and to be called *Senior Bibliotista*, i. e. Elder Bible Clerk of the college. For this end, that if any thing were to be transcribed from ancient books, he be preferred to do it: and among other things to wait upon the Master and Fellows at table, as the other Bible Clerks: and at dinners and suppers, to sit with the rest at the lower table. Whose commons was to be provided at the cost of the college. And this Registrary to be always joined with the five Norwich Scholars in the chamber under the old library.

Historiola translated; with reflections on the Archbishop.

But notwithstanding all the Archbishop's good deeds and good deserts, he must go through evil report as well as good report, the lot of the servants of Christ. There was a little Latin book belonging to the college aforesaid, and compiled for their use, called *Historiola*, being a MS. declaring briefly the history of the foundation and successive Masters of that college. This book was writ by the Archbishop's own direction about the year 1569, and still is preserved with great esteem in the college. The original, by the favour of Dr. Spenser, sometime Master, was shewn and lent me to peruse. It had here and there the Archbishop's own corrections. And when in the course of the history the writer came to speak of Dr. Parker, in his turn Master, he treated more at large of him, both of the preferments that happened to him, and of the good works he did. But some of the Archbishop's enemies, that is, certain of the Puritan faction, (and it is probable Aldrich the Master was privy to it,) getting the copy of the book, procured the translation of it into English; and this year printed it be-

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yond seas, (as it seems by the letter,) with foolish, scurrilous, and malicious notes in the margin; and entitled it with equal spite, *The Life of the LXXth Archbishop of Canterbury presently sitting, Englished: and to be added to the Sixty-nine lately set forth in Latin.* And then adding this rude jest, (shewing his good-will to the Archbishop and all that high and venerable order in the see of Canterbury,) viz. *This number of seventy is so complete a number, as it is great pity there should be one more, but that as Augustin was the first, so Matthew should be the last.*

The translator's marginal annotations.

But to give a few instances of this writer's contumelious and uncharitable marginal annotations and reflections. Where mention is made in the history, of Parker's receiving holy Orders, the marginal note is *Poope* [Pope] *holy.* Where it is said, that he applied his mind to the study of divinity, and that so earnestly, that in short space of time he bestowed his labour *not unprofitably*, [meaning, in the spiritual edification of others,] the note is, *as the course of his life declared; for he got thereby a benefice or two.* 488 Again, where it is further related of him, that he preached every where unto the people with great commendation; the criticism in the margin is, *He that preacheth every where, preacheth no where.* Where his preferments, on the account of his great deserts, are declared, as that he was Chaplain to Queen Anne, King Henry, and King Edward, that he was made Dean of Stoke, had a prebend in the church of Ely, &c. the envious note is, *Charges and livings enough for one man: but he shewed betime what game he loved. Paul saith, They seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ.* Shall I relate a few more of these admirable remarks, whereby may be seen how uncharitable and censorious this spirit of innovation was; and how mortally he was hated by a sort of men for doing his duty, in preserving the Church according to the established reformation of it? Where it was shewn, how Queen Elizabeth preferred him to the archbishopric of Canterbury, the note is, *You shoot at a good mark.* Where it is mentioned, how

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unwillingly he took upon him this burden; the homely note is, *The bear that cometh unwillingly to the stake is willingly carried from it.* Where it is said, how often his voice was heard to sound out of the pulpits; the note is, *Men may easily tell how often, when the number is but small.* Where it is told, how in the Archbishop's visitation of his diocese, he freely remitted to all the Clergy the sums of their procurations, which they should have paid for visiting, in the margin is this annotation, *Anthony thought he had greatly pleasured Tully, because he killed him not unjustly.* Where the writer related the Archbishop's rebuilding, restoring, and beautifying the palace at Canterbury, that had been burnt down, and now quite decayed; this good work is disparaged by a sentence of Aggee, set in the margin, *Is it time to build your ceiled houses, and not time to build the house of God?* Whereas it was said, that of all the sentences of Scripture, he especially chose that for his motto out of the Epistle of St. John, *Mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus;* and that he caused it to be written on the walls of his house, and the glass of his windows, and other places; whereby he was wont to call into his mind the brittleness of man's life, and the vanity thereof; *The Pharisees,* saith the margin, *did the like in the hem of their garments. The world laughs at it.* When the writer speaks of the three keys in the Archbishop's coat of arms, and how it might respect the word FEED thrice repeated to St. Peter; *Nay rather,* saith our annotator, *because he locked up the kingdom of heaven so fast, by holding out of Ministers that might preach the word, and keeping in of idle and ignorant that can do nothing; that hardly doth any man enter therein.* The last marginal note is occasioned by the mention of his appointing a tomb of black marble to be set up for himself in his lifetime, for a remembrance to him of his death; *and to signify* (saith the margin) *that he was a black Bishop to the Church of England.* A censure that could proceed from nothing but a *black* mind. I make no more reflections upon these reflections, the relation thereof is enough.

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CHAP. XLII.

Anno 1674.

He inveighs against the British Antiquities.

The second part of this little angry book is a libellous invective against the Archbishop's excellent book, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, et Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem Septuaginta.* And that you may judge of the strain of the whole tract, the libeller calleth that admirable collection of English antiquities, "rhapsodies and shreds of old foreworn stories "almost forgotten, had he [the Archbishop] now lately "awakened them out of a dead sleep, and newly sewed "them together in one book. And as though it were some "worthy monument and rich hoard, wherein had been ho-"nourably buried great heaps of the knowledge and acts of "the first Christian infancy of this Church of England; "yet having rolled away the glorious gravestone of that "counterfeit title, and seeking further into it, appears a "very painted sepulchre, gorgeously decked with that out-"ward only name, and within full of broken shankbones "and relics of dead carcasses; yea, nothing but a very "charnel-house of brainless unlearned skulls of such men "as were wicked in their lives, and not worthy any me-"mory being dead." And this is all the esteem this ignorant scribbler had for a book which all truly learned men, from that time to this present, set an extraordinary value upon, as retrieving out of the rubbish of ancient records and hidden MSS. abundance of things remarkable concerning the state of the British Church, with civil matters intermixed from many hundred years past, unto the times of that wise and learned Archbishop, the publisher, and, in great part, the author of it.

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And against the church of Canterbury, and its Archbishops.

The same author runs on in vilifying the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that church, which he calls, *the worm-eaten church of Canterbury.* He descants maliciously against the peculiar rights and jurisdictions of the Archbishops that are spoken of in the foresaid excellent book. The lives of the Archbishops recorded there, he calls, *a solemn legend of idolatrous Arch-Flamines.* At last, after a general reproach cast upon all the Archbishops of Canter-

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BOOK IV.

bury, except Cranmer, [and it is much he spares him,] he hath another farewell fling at the seventieth Archbishop, discovering him to be the author of the foresaid little Latin history [a] of himself, though it were couched in such order by a *platina* of his own, and domestic chronicler. Whence he would charge him with vain-glory.

Anno 1574.

[a] Historiola.

He adds in the last place the reason why he translated into English the said history, and put it in print, being, as he said, so fond a thing; namely, "That perhaps this "might be a good means to hinder the publishing of that "idle labour after the present Archbishop's decease, by "adding, as a substantial tale, his life to the rest of the "sixty-nine: or else, to blaze the credit of that history [of "Archbishop Parker] as it deserved, before it entered into "the world. And that, if it were not possible to deliver "that time from the blemish of suffering such a legend of "Canterbury tales to be printed, with the gracious counte-"nance of the greatest Churchmen, yet at least this might "be done to wipe away this blot: that the memory of "those great Prelates might not go undisgraced and un-"taxed by one of the meanest of the laity."

His reason for publishing his libel.

The author.

He gives this further account of himself, "That he was "void of all [dis] affection towards the Archbishop's per-"son, who privately never had offended him, and that it "was only the public offence that grieved him. And that, "if need were, he did solemnly, before the reader with his "pen, take God to witness, that the said Archbishop never "harmed him in word nor deed (that he wot of) privately. "And that his lot was so low, that he dared to say the "Archbishop knew him not." If he were a layman, (as he gives out himself here to be,) I am apt to think it might be John Stubbs of Lincoln's Inn, whose right hand not many years after was chopped off for bold and seditious writing: who as he had a bitter scoffing style, so he was a man of some parts and learning; and being allied to Thomas Cartwright, (a man exceedingly disaffected to the Archbishop and the hierarchy,) having married Stubbs' sister,

Anno 1581.

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was very probably encouraged and assisted by him. But enough of this book, and the unworthy reflections in it upon our innocent, best deserving Archbishop.

Anno 1574.

Executions of concealments stopped.

The poor Clergy at last obtained some favour against those that had, for some years, cruelly exercised their power, by virtue of a commission for concealments, as hath been mentioned before. For Sir Rauf Bagnal, Knight, George Delves, and Lancelot Bostock, Esquires, who had gotten grants from the Queen to compound for offences of the Clergy, and to take the whole commodity to themselves, made such fearful work among the Preachers and Curates, that the Bishops, and especially the Archbishop of Canterbury, as before, still complained to their friends at Court, and chiefly the Lord Treasurer: so that at last the Queen sent to the said Treasurer, by Secretary Walsingham, that his Lordship should give order for the stay of process, that was put in force against the offenders; and that he and the Lords should devise some convenient plea against the execution of the same.

Walsingham's letter.

CHAP. XLIII. 490

A pretended conspiracy of Strangers and Puritans. The Archbishop consecrates Blethyn Bishop of Landaff. His care for Norwich diocese. Visits Winchester diocese. His apprehensions of the Puritans. Many Anabaptists taken. His thoughts occasioned thereby. His two last letters.

Anno 1575.

Information from Antwerp of a conspiracy of the Dutch congregation, and the Puritans.

AND now we are arrived to the last year of our Archbishop, wherein he left off his toilsome work to receive his wages, and was called by his heavenly Master, to give account of his feeding of the flock unto the chief Shepherd and Bishop: but to see somewhat of his employment in his office in these last sands of his life, thus waiting for his Lord's coming: which we shall shew, after we have first related a pretended conspiracy of the strangers of the Dutch Church, London, together with the Puritans, in the beginning of this year. And if it were true, it was a very dangerous one.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1575.

But the relation came from an unknown hand, writ to the Earl of Leicester from Antwerp, and by some English fugitive there, as it appears, nestling in that town, where there were many false Englishmen, pensioners of the King of Spain. The discovery he made was this; that there were confederacies entered into by the Dutch congregation aforesaid, both against the state of England and that of Flanders. That against England, to be undertaken by the help of the Puritans, was, to alter the state of this country, and to destroy all the Papists about the Queen. That the City of London they were sure of before, but not of the Tower; which was the reason the putting their designs in execution was detained hitherto. But now they were sure of the Tower, when they should begin, and the treasure and munition thereof. That they were sure of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Huntington, the Earl of Hertford. That the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Leicester, Sir James Crofts, and Mr. Hatton, were appointed to be killed, and the Queen too, who did them, as they said, more hurt than good, and that if she were out of the way, they did not doubt of the most places of strength in the realm. That they talked of making a conquest upon the Normans, as their ancestors did upon the Britons. That these conspirators were assured by some of the English nobility, and some of the Council. That all this was confessed by one Emanuel Demetre, one that had long lived in London, but a native of Antwerp, and a member of the Dutch Church, London; who was sent to the Consistory of Antwerp upon these matters; and being taken by the magistrates of that place, had made all this confession.

Emanuel Demetre.

A fugitive the informer.

This nameless fugitive that gave this intelligence to the Earl of Leicester, writ all this, as he said, with grief to see the natural born of the country driven to fly and forsake it, without offence either to God or the Prince, only because they desired to serve God as their forefathers did, and to see strangers, rebels, and traitors to God and their King, and enemies to all policy and civil government, to be received, succoured, and encouraged, by their like in disposi-

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tion, and the ruin of their country so near at hand. And that the cause of the country in general was far more to them than either life or any other particular. And so ended, referring the further search and prevention of these miseries to the said Lord of Leicester and others. This letter I have put into the Appendix. The credit of this letter is very dubious, because our historian Camden speaks not one word of it, and because Leicester is said to be one designed for the destruction by the conspirators, who was the Puritans' great patron and favourite. The fugitive who writ it undoubtedly endeavoured hereby to curry favour for himself and his brethren, and to cast a vizard over their own rebellions and false practices, and to make a shew as though they were extraordinary loyal and well affected; and lastly, to render suspicious and odious to the Queen and government, the Lord Treasurer and some other good serviceable persons about her Majesty, as well as this innocent congregation of Dutch strangers.

Anno 1575.

N° XCVIII.

491 The church of Landaff remaining void of a Bishop since the death of Hugh Jones, the Queen required the Archbishop's judgment for some fit person to succeed; and William Blethyn being well qualified, and a Welshman, was by him recommended to the Queen. And accordingly he was confirmed April 16, in Bow-church, before Dr. Yale, and consecrated the next day at Lambeth by the Archbishop, being the last Bishop he laid his hands on. *Consecrationis munus impendebat, ac cum episcopalibus insigniis decoravit*, as the instrument of the consecration always ran; Edwin Bishop of London, and Edmund Bishop of Rochester, assisting thereat. And April 20, the Archbishop gave the said Bishop Blethyn a commission to visit the church, city, and diocese of Landaff. And let me add to the rest a large dispensation granted him by the Archbishop, to enable him to bear the part of a Bishop, which that small bishopric of itself would not do: which was to be Archdeacon of Brecon, Rector of Rogyet, Prebendary of St. Dubritius in the church of Landaff, Rector of Sunningwell; and to hold

A Bishop of Landaff consecrated. Regist. Parker.

Regist. Eccles. Christ. Cant.

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BOOK IV. *alia quæcunque, quotcunque, qualiacunque*, not exceeding an 100*l.* per annum.

Anno 1575. Norwich diocese yet remained vacant; and as the Archbishop about the middle of March last had at the Queen's commandment named three to her; Dr. Goodman, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Piers, Dean of Christ church, Oxon; and Dr. Whitgift, Master of Trinity college, Cambridge; so now in April he laboured again for the filling of that see. He suggested to the Treasurer, "that among them all he "preferred the first for learning, life, and government: "not because this man whom he nominated was toward the "Lord Treasurer, as though he did it out of partial kind-"ness to his Lordship, nor for any displeasure he bore to "Leicester's Chaplains, [whereof Dr. Will. Fulk was one,] "or to her Majesty's Almoner, of any envy to his person, "(for these Leicester and others had named,) but he spake "it before God, for that he saw her Majesty was affected "princely to govern, and for that he saw her in constancy "almost alone, to be offended with the Puritans; whose go-"vernance, he said, in conclusion would undo her and all "others that depended upon her. And because he saw him "[Goodman] and very few else, which meant to dull that "lewd governance of theirs; therefore he was affected to "him." Whereof yet he made not the said Goodman privy. But neither had the Archbishop his desire now, any more than formerly he used to have. For Goodman succeeded not, hindered, I suppose, by Leicester's means, because this man was so much employed, and so well esteemed both by the Archbishop and the Lord Treasurer. And the see fell upon Freak, Bishop of Rochester: but the Archbishop lived not to see it; it being July 13, when he was elected by the Dean and Chapter; and Piers succeeded to Rochester.

Names three to the Queen for Norwich.

Visits the diocese of Winchester. He had very lately visited Winchester diocese, where were many Papists and other Dissenters from the established religion; and particularly in the Isle of Wight. And this he did by the motion of the Bishop of the diocese. And

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here he used such methods, [it may be of some severity, as occasion required,] that he was talked against for what he had done. But however much good was done by him, for the reducing that people to obedience. But clamours against him arrived to the ears of his old back-friend, the Earl of Leicester: who presently, glad of any opportunity, laboured to blacken him before the Queen for this visitation. Insomuch, that when, upon her commandment, he came to wait upon her at Hampton Court, in the month of April, she suddenly charged him for his visitation. He knew from whence this came, and who had informed one nobleman to open it unto her Majesty. To the Lord Treasurer he thought convenient to take notice of this, that his Lordship might upon occasion vindicate him to the Queen. He told him, "That that visitation wrought such an obe-"dience, that he did not yet repent him of it; though they "did what they could to stir up the Bishop of Winchester "too against him; somebody telling that Bishop," [and I suppose that was Leicester,] "that his Clergy were sifted, "and that the thorn was put in his [the Bishop's] foot, but "that he [Leicester] would pluck it out, that it should be "so in other men's feet," [meaning the Archbishop and his friends,] "that they should stamp again." And some there were soon after, who, by superseding and mitigating what the Archbishop in that visitation had done, caused every thing to run in its old channel of irregularity and disobedience again. For the Isle of Wight and other places of that diocese were gone again from their obedience.

492 Likes not the policy of conniving at Puritans.

The pretence for this, among the courtiers and ill-willers of the Archbishop and his method, was policy. But, said the Archbishop, after his blunt way, "If this be a good "policy, well then, let it be so. If this be a good policy, "secretly to work overthwartly against the Queen's reli-"gion, established by law and injunction, as long as they "so stand, I will not be partaker of it. Her Majesty "told him once, he said, that he had supreme government "ecclesiastical: but what is it, said he, to govern, cum-"bered with such subtilty? He added, that he feared her

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"Highness's authority was not regarded. So that if they "could, for fear of further inconvenience, they would change "her government: yea, saith he to the Lord Treasurer, and "yours and mine, how cunningly soever they deal in it."

Why he urged conformity.

The great reason that made our Archbishop so earnest in urging conformity was, to keep up a veneration to law established, and to maintain the authority of the Prince. Both which when neglected by the subject, he knew nothing but tumult and confusion would follow. And therefore he went on laying this charge on the Lord Treasurer; and admonished him, "that whatsoever came of it, he would "look unto it" [and watch these men and their endeavours] "in such sincerity, as God might be pleased; or else he "would rise one day, and revenge his enemies. Doth your "Lordship think, as he went on, that I care either for "cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, or any such? But for "the law so established esteem them. For he saw, he said, "contempt of law and authority would follow, and be the "end of it, unless discipline were used. If I, you, or any "other, named *Great Papists*," [for so it seems the innovators then called the urgers of ecclesiastical orders] "should "favour the Pope, or his religion, that we should pinch "Christ's true Gospel, woe be unto us all." Then he descended to speak touching the Earl of Leicester's soliciting the Queen to frown upon her Archbishop, using these words: "Her Majesty pretended in the giving her small "benefices, that for her conscience sake she would have "some of us, the Bishops, to commend them; and shall "her Majesty be induced to gratify some mortal man's re-"quest, *qui res suas agit*," [who had some private, and it may be malicious ends to drive on,] "and be negligent in "the principal Pastor of so great a diocese; wherein per-"adventure her authority is utterly condemned?"

His discourse upon occasion of the Anabaptists.

There were great numbers of Anabaptists taken on Easter-day: which, he said, might move to some contemplation. Meaning, that these sectaries probably grew and increased as they did, by neglecting so much the reins of discipline; one of whose great principles was, that temporal govern-

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ment belonged unto the saints, that is, unto themselves. "Then he charged the Lord Treasurer, to whom he was "discoursing of those Anabaptists, to use still such things "as might make to the solidity of good judgment, and "help her Majesty's good government in princely constancy, "whatsoever the policy of the world, yea, the mere world, "would induce. To dance in a net in this world is but "mere vanity. To make the governance only policy is "mere vanity. Her princely prerogative, he said, in tem-"poral matters was called into question of base subjects. "And it was known, she had taken order to cease in some "of them." [That is, not to stand upon her prerogative in some temporal affairs.] "Whatsoever the ecclesiastical "prerogative was, he feared it was not so great as his pen" [meaning the pen of the Lord Treasurer, when Secretary] "had given it her in the *injunction*. And yet, he said, her "governance was of more prerogative than the head Pa-"pists would grant unto her." All this he dictated to another, lying in his bed in great weakness; and so the last thoughts, counsel, and judgment of this grave spiritual man. He thought it would be the last letter he ever should write to him, and so I think it was. (For he died the next month, that is, in May, this being writ April the 11th.) Concluding all with an old prophetic verse, that often, as he said, recurred to his head, though he was not much led (he said) by worldly prophecies: namely this,

Fœmina morte cadet, postquam terram mala tangent.

An old prophecy mentioned by him.

Hereby hinting his fears of the Queen's life, occasioned by those that now so neglected her authority; and his apprehensions of formidable evils that might fall upon the nation afterward.

This old prophecy (whereof the Archbishop repeated only the first verse, and had it seems some weight with it in those times among the better sort, that dreaded the issue of the Queen's death) I have met with in the Cotton library, as pretending some disaster to befall the Queen, and the 493

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invasion and conquest of the kingdom by the King of Spain, or some other king. They are an *hexastick* of old rhyming verses, with an old translation of them into English; as follow.

Cott. librar. Vespasian. D. 18.

Fœmina morte cadet, postquam terram mala tangent.
Trans vada Rex veniet; postquam populi cito plangent:
Trans freta tendentes, nil proficiendo laborant
Gentes, deplorent illustres morte cadentes.
Ecce! repentina validos mors atque ruina
Tollet, prosternet, nec gens tua talia cernet.

The translation followeth.

The common stroke of death shall stop a woman's breath.
Great grief shall then ensue, and battel 'gin to brew.
A king shall o're the stream. The people of the reame
Shall then complayne and mourne, and all in dueyl sojourne.
The saylers o're the flood shall do themselves no good,
Ne profit nor yet avayl, when death doth them assayl,
The sore stroke repentine, of death and great ruine.
The stalworthy men of strength shall lye down at the length
In field, and eke in strete. Thy folk yet shall not see't.

His last thoughts of the state of this church.

These matters last rehearsed are the sum of his two last letters. Which being his last and maturest thoughts of the affairs of the Church, and his judgment of matters as then managed, as I have exemplified the former before, so I have thought the other as well worthy preserving, in the Appendix.

N°. XCIX.

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CHAP. XLIV.

The Archbishop's commission for Proctors. Makes his will. Writes to the Lord Treasurer on his death-bed; and to the Queen. Dies. His meditations of death. His funerals. His tomb violated. His body taken up and buried elsewhere. Re-entombed. A new inscription upon his monument. Epitaphs made on him.

ON the first day of May, (in which month the Archbishop died,) there came forth a commission from him to Dr. Bar. Clerk, Official of the Court of Arches, for admitting of Proctors in that Court. It ran, *To him or any other President of the said Court.* And this was the last commission, as far as appears by the register, that ever he gave out. Anno 1575. A commission for Dr. Clerk.

For, foreseeing his approaching dissolution, he made his last will and testament, April the 5th. And May the 17th following, in the morning, he concluded his holy and painful life in his palace at Lambeth. His mortal disease was the stone and strangury: for which in March last he kept his bed. In which the 17th of the said month he indited a letter at good length to the Archbishop of York. In April his fit returned with more violence, being stricken more sharply with it than he had been before. Yet April 11, being in his bed, and in great pain, he dictated a large letter to the Lord Treasurer, with his own subscription of his name, concerning the affairs of the Church, containing his last counsels for the good thereof. He wrote also after this other letters to the Queen, with his last advices to her for the Church's welfare, as we shall see by and by. He foresaw this fit would be his death, though he might linger out some time. For so he wrote in his letter to the Treasurer, "That he trusted, that should be one of the last letters "which he should write to him. And it may be, said he, "whereas I have a great while provided for death, yet God "will peradventure have me continue awhile to exercise "myself in these contemplations of grief." And so indeed it happened as he said; for he continued wasting under the The Archbishop's disease. 494

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BOOK IV. acuteness of his pains for near five weeks after, with much Christian patience, breathing out these and such like holy

Anno 1575. and fervent ejaculations, *Domine, vim patior, responde pro me. Domini voluntas fiat.* Yet he had an interval of some ease. For April 17. (and that very day month after he died) he was able to consecrate the Welsh Bishop above spoken of.

And death. Thus did his *old disease*, as he called it, wear him out, and carry him at last off the stage of this world, and deprive the see of Canterbury of an excellent Bishop, and the English Church of a very useful, wise, and public-spirited Metropolitan. Of what age he was at his death, may be surely known from a new seal, with which I find a letter of his to the Lord Treasurer sealed. Upon which is engraven the year of our Lord 1573, and round about his coat of arms, empaled with that of the see, his motto, *Mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus.* And then follows, *Ætat. suæ* 70. So that living two years after this date, he must die at the age of seventy-two, and that was the number of the poor men that attended his funeral. But notwithstanding his age, he was of a vigorous and perfect mind and memory when he

Alex. Nevil. died. *Integris sensibus, ætate optimâ, è vitâ, tanquam è scenâ benè peractæ fabulæ, discessit*, i. e. Perfect in his senses, and arrived to the best age; he went off this life, as from the stage of a well-acted play; saith one, who was able to judge of it, being in the family at the Archbishop's death, and one of those that were witnesses to his last will.

His death no surprise. His death was no surprise to him, for it employed very often his serious meditations. In his sermons he used frequently to exhort his auditory, that death should not find them unprovided. And for the preparation of himself for death, he first aptly and conveniently made a disposition of his worldly things, as was said before, though by the scrawling writing of his name thereto (which I have seen in the Bene't library) it may be concluded, he was then under great extremity of pain and sickness. And being a man much loving order and decency, he prescribed and set down in writing, after what method and order things should be

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carried at his death and funeral. He appointed his tomb-stone to be of black marble, and to be fitted up before his death, that he might look upon it while he lived, and that it might be ready to be laid upon his corpse when he should be buried. His tomb also he procured to be made and erected while he was alive; the workmanship whereof was not exquisite, but plain. It sufficed him, that it should be as a monument to posterity, of the honour he had obtained in a Christian commonwealth, by his Prince's favour. And Dr. Walter Haddon, Master of the Requests, and his old learned friend, had the honour to make the epitaph engraven on it. It was his mindfulness of his mortality, and of the dreadful judgment that followed it, that made him choose that sentence of Scripture spoken by St. John, *Mundus transit et concupiscentia ejus*; i. e. The world passeth away and the lust thereof. Which he had very often occasionally in his mouth, and wrote in his letters, had it engraven round his coat of arms, and described in the walls of his house, and in the glass of his windows. Whereby in the midst of his worldly greatness, he called to mind his own brittle frail condition, and the vanity of the most pompous state: and that he might be reminded to direct his thoughts upon a more stable and lasting inheritance to be possessed in another world. And to put him in mind of judgment as well as death, he had engraven in the seal of his see the manner of the last judgment; where Christ sat gloriously and with majesty to judge the quick and the dead, uttering these words to his elect, *Venite benedicti*, and to the reprobate, *Ite maledicti*. Here also the dead were represented rising out of their graves to receive their sentence. That by these remembrances he might quicken himself to do God's will, and to discharge his high function; that he might have good hope against the time, when God should call him to give account of his stewardship.

CHAP. XLIV.

Anno 1575.

His tomb.

His motto.

His seal.

The substance of all which we read in his Life, written in Latin; inserted therein, very probably by his own pen. Which Life, though another (perhaps Joscelyn his secretary) was the writer of, yet was overlooked by himself, and here

495 Matthæus.

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and there interspersed with his own corrections and insertions. And among these I place also the last period concluding that book: viz. *Hâc sibi penitus meditatione*, &c. *i. e.* "This meditation (of death and the day of judgment) "being deeply infixed in him, he hath nothing else, either in "his purposes or wishes, but whether this troublesome race "of human life be lengthened or shortened to him, con-"tented therewith, as it shall please God, he doth wholly "repose and commit himself to the protection of God the "Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: whose "honour and glory hath no end, and is extended to all "eternity. Amen."

Writes to the Queen upon his death-bed.

Upon his death-bed the thoughts of the Church ran much in his mind; and for the sake thereof, he then wrote some letters to the Queen: and being the last advices he should ever give her, he hoped they might make the greater impressions upon her mind. And among other things he then reminded her of, one was concerning the spoils that were made of the Church's revenue, and the alienating them from the Church by exchange or otherwise: which she was moved to do upon some politic considerations suggested to her by some of her great men. The Lord Bacon, and the Lord Burghley, he expressly mentioned in his said letter; and that with some vehemency. Though being writ with so much sharpness of style, a person that was then about him in that his sickness, and present when it was writ, dissuaded him from sending it. This very person (whom I conjecture to have been Dr. Pern) soon after privately told this to Dr. Whitgift. And he, upon the pretence of his obligations to the Lord Burghley, acquainted him in a private letter therewith: which possibly had been better concealed, Whitgift having been so much beholden to the Archbishop in his life: and it looking as somewhat an ingrateful act towards both those Lords on the Archbishop's part: but the good of the Church he reckoned was to be regarded above all private respects. What credit may be given to the report, I leave to the indifferent reader. But Whitgift's letter was as follows.

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CHAP. XLIV.

Anno 1575.

Dr. Whitgift to the Lord Treasurer.

"Talking with one of late, that was with the Archbishop "of Canterbury the most part of his last sickness, I under-"stood that among other letters written by him to her Ma-"jesty upon his death-bed, there was one that did specially "touch your Lordship and my Lord Keeper, inveighing, as "he said, earnestly against you as chief procurers of the "spoil of the Church, with such other like matters. The "party saith, that the letters were written with bitterness. "This was told me in great secrecy by one that was pre-"sent at the writing of the letters, and a great dissuader, "as he saith, from the writing of them: but yet prevailed "not. I am so bound unto your Lordship, that I cannot "of duty hear any such thing, and keep it from you: be-"seeching your Lordship, notwithstanding, that you will so "use the matter, as it be not known that your Lordship "had any such information from me. The whole doings, "and the truth thereof, I think your Lordship shall best "learn of him that did write the letters for the Archbishop "in the time of his sickness. He is unknown to me, but "your Lordship can best tell how to know him, and to deal "with him. Thus remaining wholly your Lordship's, I "commit you and all yours to the tuition of Almighty God. "From Trinity college in Cambridge, 30. of May, 1575.

"To your Lordship most bound,

"Jhon Whitgyfte."

To the right honourable, and my singular good Lord, the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England.

The order of his funeral.

To conclude, as Archbishop Parker had made a great figure in this church for fifteen or sixteen years, and was a person of great integrity, worth, and learning, a very solemn funeral was celebrated for him the 6th of June. Whereat his officers and menial servants made the greatest number; whereby we may judge of the great house which he kept. 496 I transcribe it out of an authentic paper; superscribed thus by the Lord Treasurer's own hand, *The burial of Archbishop Parker.*

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Anno 1575.

The Order of the Funeral.

Two Pursuevants { Blewmantle. Rougedragon.

Two Conductors Yeomen, with black staves.
John Pory. Shalford.

Poor Men LXXII. Three in a rank.

Gentlemen Mourners in gowns.

Mr. Morrante.	Mr. Aldriche.
Mr. Withers.	Mr. Harrison.
Mr. Leighe.	Mr. Borough.
Mr. Reynolds.	Mr. Wheler.
Mr. Charl. Doyly.	Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Alcocke.	Mr. Cotilino.
Mr. Peterson.	Mr. Kirkby.
Mr. Binneman.	Mr. Parker, Solicitor.
Mr. Fenton.	Mr. Maynard.
Mr. Whitney.	Mr. Counsel.
Mr. Incent.	Mr. Heigham.
Mr. Larke.	Mr. Argal.
Mr. Wiseman.	Mr. Hearle.
Mr.	Mr. Necton.
Mr. Nowel Sutherton.	Mr. Gadbery.
Mr. John Sutherton.	Mr. Lane.
Mr. Morraut.	Mr. Morgan.
Mr. Blythe.	Mr. Clarke.
Mr. Hill.	Mr. Lawes.
Mr. Wetherld.	D. Coldwel.
D. Candewell.	D. Simingets.
Mr. Moore.	Mr. Creswel.
D. Forth.	D. Acworthe.
D. Drury.	D. Yale, Dean of the Arches.
D. Lewes.	
Dean of Westminster.	D. of Ely.

Chapleyns.

Mr. Harlestone.	Mr. Allen.
Mr. Blague.	Mr. Stallard.

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Mr. Simpson. Mr. Norgate.
Mr. Bungey. Mr. Cook, Almoner.

Two Secretaries.

Mr. Nevill. Mr. Cobham. 497

Executors.

Mr. Pierson. Mr. Baker. Mr. Osborne.

Bishop of Lincoln, Preacher, alone.

Mr. Steward. Mr. Treasurer. Mr. Comptroller.
With white staves.

An Herald, with the great banner.

Mr. Clarencieux, alone.

Gentleman Usher, Mr. Warden, with a white rod. { Mr. Garter. } Gentleman Usher, Mr. Bisley, with a white rod.

1. An Herald with a banner roll. 2. An Herald with a banner roll.

1. Assistant, Mr. Recorder. 2. Assistant, Mr. Wotton.

Mr. Harvy. Mr. Bedell. Mr. Whiting. Mr. Sackford. { Corpse. } Mr. Whithorne. Mr. Marshe. Mr. Bloome. Mr. Wilson.

An Herald, with a banner roll. An Herald, with a banner roll.

Principal Mourner.

Gentleman Usher, Mr. Keyes. { Bishop of London. } Gentleman Usher, Mr. Cotton.

D. Styward, to bear the train.

Bishop of Ely. Bishop of Bath.
Bishop of Lincoln. Bishop of Rochester.
L. Chief Justice. Master of the Rolls.
L. Chief Justice of the Com. Pleas. Justice Harper.
Justice Manwood. Sergeant Lovelace.

The Company of the Arches. 498

Two Yeomen Ushers in coats, with white rods.

John Appryce. Thomas Note.

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Yeomen of the Household.

Lyne.	Parkins.	Jenkinson.	Denham.
Miles.	May.	Allen.	Hoskins.
Plumley.	Perrin.	Marshe.	Sarrat.
Yonge.	Whitheare.	Fowler.	Harvie.
Remigius.	Alcocke.	Oswel.	Frennel.
Norton.	Hunt.	Webbe.	Wm. Note.
Wade.	Eusebius.	Smith.	Sterne.
Simons.	Laurence.	Dunne.	Stele.
Charles.	Barwick.	Ja. Parkins.	Cooper.
Aphowel.	Godfrey.	Porter.	Goade.
Saunders.	Farnabie.	Watson.	Jenkinson *minor*.
Andrews.	Elinden.	Borough.	Adam.

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Mourners' Servants, four in a rank.

Bishop of London - -	§	viii men.
Bishop of Ely - - -	§	vi men.
Bishop of Bath - - -	§	vi men.
Bishop of Lincoln - -	§	vi men.
Bishop of Rochester - -	§	vi men.
Bishop of Dover - -	§	iii men.
L. Ch. Justice - - -	§	vi men.
Master of the Rolls - -	§	viii men.
L. Ch. Justice of the C. Pleas.	§	vi men.
Justice Harper - - -	§	iv men.
Justice Manwood - -	§	iv men.
Master of the Requests -	§	iv men.
Executors' men - - -	§	x
Gentlemen Mourners' men -	§	xl.

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His sepulchre.

His bowels, by his own order, were put into an urn, and interred in the Duke's chapel in Lambeth church, where his wife and his son Matthew lay. But his body was buried in his own private chapel within his palace, at the upper end against the communion-table on the south side, under a monument of his own erecting, placed by his direction opposite against that part of the chapel where he used to pray,

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with this inscription, devised by Dr. Walter Haddon, his old friend, esteemed in those times an excellent both poet and orator:

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Sobrius et prudens, studiis excultus et usu,
Integer, et veræ religionis amans;
Matthæus vixit Parkerus. Foverat illum
Aula virum juvenem, fovit et aula senem.
Ordine res gessit, Recti defensor et Æqui:
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.

The commendations of him contained in the foresaid hexastick, when the Archbishop read, he modestly refused to assume to himself: but he said, he would make that use of his friend's favourable character of him, to be an incitement to him to attain, as much as possible, to those good qualities and virtues he had attributed to him, for the short remainder of his life.

His body taken up, and his monument demolished.

But neither this stone, or epitaph, or monument, is now to be seen there, being taken away in the year 1648. For when, upon the dissolution of monarchy in the barbarous violence used upon the sacred person of King Charles I. Lambeth-house fell to the lot of Colonel Scot, one of the regicides, he thought to turn the chapel into a hall, or dancing-room, this venerable monument standing in the way, it was totally demolished. And out of hatred to episcopacy, and it may be to Archbishop Parker himself, (who indeed was no friend to Puritans, and foretold that which was then come to pass by their means,) they caused his body to be digged up; the lead that inclosed it they plucked off and sold, and the bones they buried, not in the church nor church-yard, (that was too great a favour,) but in a stinking dunghill[a]: where they remained till some years after the happy restoration of King Charles II. When Sir William Dugdale, the antiquary, hearing by chance of this transaction, repaired to Archbishop Sancroft, and acquainted him with it. By whose diligence, together with an order from the Lords to search for these bones, they were at last found, and decently reposited again, though not exactly in

[a] As the Papists once had served the wife of Peter Martyr, in Oxford.

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the place where the monument stood. Over which are these words engraven,

Corpus MATTHÆI *Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit.*

Restored again.

The said Archbishop caused also the same monument to be erected again to his memory. Which now stands in the *vestibulum* of the chapel, at the right hand against the wall, with an inscription of the said most reverend Father's own composing, as I have been told, fastened in a brass plate, as follows:

His epitaph.

MATTHÆI Archiepiscopi Cenotaphium.

Corpus enim (ne nescias, Lector)
In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
A Sectariis perduellibus anno MDCXLVIII.
Effracto sacrilegè hoc ipso tumulo,
Elogio sepulchrali impiè refixo,
Direptis nefariè exuviis plumbeis,
Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum;
Etiam sub sterquilinio (proh! scelus) abstrusum:
Rege demum (plaudente cœlo et terra) redeunte,
Ex decreto Baronum Angliæ sedulò requisitum,
Et sacello postliminio redditum,
In ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit.
Et QUIESCAT *utinam,*
Non nisi tuba ultima solicitandum.
QUI DENUO DESECRAVERIT, SACER ESTO.

I shall add Alexander Nevyl's elegant heroic verses upon he death of this Archbishop, his great patron:

Sic constat mortale nihil, sic luminis oras
Quæ subeunt, abeunt. Rapit (heu!) rapit omnia tellus
Quæ peperit; refugusque vigor mortalibus ævum
Decurtat miserum; dociles non parcere Parcæ
500 *Sic occant nimium. Sic, sic abrupta beati*
Stamina PARKERI; *tantum dant flere misello*
Orbatoque gregi, quantum bona commoda vitæ
Volverat aureolus cursus, plebesque regendi

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Gnarus amor, solleresque animus, fluidosque premendo
Mite supercilium, mens et lentando modesta.
Et mea quæ tanto viduata camæna Patrono est
Luget in abruptum; rursus decidua fatis:
Rursus in horrendas mundi censura procellas.
O! benè cœlicolæ, tanto quod functus honore,
Evicit linguasque hominum nigrasque loquelas:
Quas spargit numerus, quas sacra insania ructat.
Ergò jace, venerande Heros, et murmure stulto
Invidia majorque omni, fœliæque peracto
Obdormi stadio; nos hic tua facta sonamus,
Te plenique et amore tui, te flemus ademptum,
Te, te, magne Pater, nos hic veneramur, amamus,
Et tanti æternum mirabimur acta Magistri.

CHAP. XLV.

The Archbishop's last will. His family. The order of it. His servants and Chaplains. His table. His custom at home. His habit. His studies and writings. His book in defence of Priests' marriage. His study of antiquities.

HAVING brought our most venerable Prelate to his grave, my next work shall be to give some account of his last will, of his family, and domestic concerns, and of two other things, proper to bear his name to posterity, *viz.* his writings and his relations.

His will.

In his last will and testament, (which is yet reserved in Bene't college library,) it is expressed that he was in good state of bodily health, as well as of sound mind and memory. But that is to be understood, that he was so when he wrote and framed his will, rather than when he signed it, his subscription being then so much worse than he used at other times to write, that we may thereby conclude him to be at that time under great bodily pains. Herein he gave this pious account of his faith. "I profess that I do certainly

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"believe and hold whatsoever the holy Catholic Church "believeth and receiveth in any articles whatsoever, pertaining to faith, hope, and charity, in the whole sacred "Scripture. And where in these I have offended my Lord "God any ways, either by imprudence, or will, or weakness, I repent from my heart of my fault and error, and "I ask forgiveness with a contrite heart. Which remission "and indulgence I do most firmly hold I shall obtain by "the precious death and merits of my most indulgent Lord "and Saviour Jesus Christ. By whose singular grace I hope "also to be made partaker of eternal joy of body and soul "in that day, wherein all shall rise again with their bodies "to the last judgment. Therefore to this Jesus Christ, together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour "and thanksgiving, both now and to all eternity. *Amen.*"

His soul he bequeathed and commended into the hands of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and his body to the earth to be buried, or any other way to be handled, as Almighty God had determined the hour, manner, and place of dying, according to his good pleasure. Which I suppose was a clause that he devised in some of his former wills under Queen Mary, when he was not sure of burial in the earth, but might be consumed by fire, (as many other holy
501 men's bodies were in those times,) if he fell into the hands of the persecutors He desired his burial to be performed without pomp and worldly noise, and cost, as much as might be, and that all things should be done in that order as he had appointed in a certain paper subscribed with his name.

His large legacies.

His bequests were very noble and very large, to the Queen, to the cathedral of Canterbury, to his successors Archbishops of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of York, to the Bishops of London, Winton, Ely, Wigorn, to the Lord Keeper Bacon, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, to the Bishop Suffragan of Dover, to Sir Will. Cordell, Master of the Rolls, to Judge Manhood, to Andrew Peerson, a Canon of Christ Church, Cant. to Dr. Forth, the Civilian. He gave legacies also to his son, to his grandchildren, godchildren, cousins, relations, and servants. Large legacies also to the

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University of Cambridge, and several colleges there; namely, an hundred books to the public library; to the college of Corpus Christi, where he was bred, and of which he was Master, all his books, printed or writ, and unbequeathed; upon condition that they laid them up, and kept them in their new library, and in presses in the lesser library, and in chests there prepared, together with other books, peculiarly as yet reserved in his study and vestiary at Lambeth, and elsewhere, according to a certain ordinance, which for that purpose was prescribed in a certain indenture.

The Archbishop's books given to Bene't college.

A short account whereof let me here insert. These books were such as treated of several sciences and subjects, and were disposed under these several ranks: *viz.* I. *Theologica*: and these were subdivided into three sorts: *Theologica primæ ætatis; Theologica mediæ ætatis; et Theologica postremæ ætatis.* Under which last rank are sorted *Sacramentalia; Concionatoria; Formulæ Ceremoniarum; Germanica.* Under which are contained the Lutheran books. To which are also joined the Calvinistical writers. Then follow, II. *Historica.* III. *Juridica.* IV. *Medica.* V. *Chirurgica.* VI. *Philosophica.* VII. *Ethica.* VIII. *Physica.* IX. *Metaphysica.* X. *Alchymistica.* XI. *Mathematica.* XII. *Rhetorica.* XIII. *Grammatica.* XIV. *Poetica.* Then follows another rank, under the title of *Miscellanea.* And then follow more of his books, under the title of *Libri in minori Bibliotheca.*

The valuableness of them.

That which further is to be observed of these his printed books, and which made them greatly valuable, was, that they were of the very ancientest editions; and divers of them printed in the fifteenth century, that is, anno 1400 and odd: the rest in the beginning of 1500, and onward in that century. Of this sort are the editions of the Fathers of the Church, and the ancient ecclesiastical writers, and several of the *Concionatoria.* And among the rest of his books there is *Rhetorica nova impressa Cantabrigiæ* 1478. Whence, by the way, we may be informed, how ancient printing was in Cambridge. It renders this library also valuable, that it contains a great many old Bibles; and among

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the rest, the *Great English Bible*, printed in the year 1568, which was the first *Great Bible* printed under Queen Elizabeth, that was carefully reviewed and set forth by our Archbishop's order and application.

Also, he gave legacies to Caius college and Trinity hall. Of which benefactions to the colleges we have writ, and shall write more hereafter in due place. His bequests in all came to about 4000*l.*

His overseers and executors.

The overseers of his will were, Richard, Bishop of Dover; Sir Will. Cordell, before mentioned; Tho. Wotton of Kent, Esq.; Tho. Yale, his Vicar General; and John Bungey, his nephew, who married Margaret, his brother's daughter. His executors were Peter Osborn, Remembrancer of the Exchequer; and his son John Parker, Esq.; Richard Wendesley, Esq. his steward; Andrew Peerson, Clerk, Commissary of his Faculties; and John Baker, his half brother, of Cambridge, Gentleman. This will of the Archbishop, with the marginal notes set thereto by his son, together with the order for his funeral, and a brief of his goods and chattels, and his bequests, legacies, and debts, drawn up in short, being transcribed out of John Parker's own memorial books, by the great pains of my late reverend friend, N. Battely, deceased, I have presented to the reader in the Appendix. This will was proved October 1, 1575. I cannot but observe, that two of these Bishops to whom he gave legacies, he styled his *brothers*, namely, Ely and Winton; the rest only *reverend fathers*. How the former was his brother is plain enough, his son having married that Bishop's daughter: but the relation between Horn, Bishop of Winton, and him, is not so easy to determine. I should have been ready to suppose, that he had married the Archbishop's sister Margaret, had not the scheme of the pedigree made her to have died a virgin: which perhaps might be a mistake. Certain it is, that this Bishop was married, and had divers daughters. Four whereof married into families in Kent: Rebecca married to Hayman, Anne married to Darel of Calehil, Mary married Hales of Tenderden, Elizabeth to Anthony Dering, son of John Dering of Surrenden, all of

N°. C. CI. CII. CIII.

Horn, Bishop of Winchester.

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Kent. And one daughter more he had, namely, Margery, who married Dayrel of Lillingston in Bucks. CHAP. XLV.

Anno 1575. His family.

The Archbishop's family (the chief officers thereof being men of great gravity and virtue) was excellently regulated, being made up of sobriety, learning, and diligence. One that lived in the family gave this account of it: "Nothing "was to be seen in his household, but what savoured of mo- "desty, of piety, civility, and sobriety. The sight whereof, "he said, when he came into the family, did more inflame "him to the imitation of those virtues. He was a good "master to his servants, and gave them his countenance, "favour, counsel, authority, and beneficence, even to the "supplying some of them with estates and fortunes. And "for learning, his house was a kind of flourishing Univer- "sity of learned men: and his domestics, being provoked "by the Archbishop's exhortations and precepts, often pub- "lished to the world the fruits of their studies. For when "he took any into his family, he would always exhort him "to pursue learning and piety with an ardent desire. And "his own example went before them for both. And though "he was busied in the weighty offices and affairs of Christ's "commonwealth, yet he was always of that mind towards "learning, that no thoughts could ever wholly take him off "from his studies, and from the embracement of the best "sorts of learning. He read over all good books, espe- "cially the monuments of the ancients." Out of his house came forth a correct English translation of the Bible, the Antiquities of Britain, and divers ancient authors, never before published: in which, though he had the greatest hand, yet his household servants assisted. And Alexander Nevyl here wrote his two books in elegant Latin, *viz.* that of Ket's Rebellion, called *Kettus*, and the description of the antiquities of Norwich, entitled *Norwicus;* which the Archbishop appointed to be printed. And as he well perused these pieces before they were sent to the press, so he supplied the author with many instructions and remarks, while he was writing, being himself so well acquainted with

Learning encouraged in his house.

Alex. Nevyl.

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the subject of both. It is worth the reading, and preserving Nevyl's elegant Latin epistle to the Archbishop, relating these things. See the Appendix.

Anno 1575. N° CIV. Henkey his servant.

Judge of the piety and sobriety of the rest of his servants by the character Mr. John Fox gave of one of them, named Witham Henkey, whom he recommended to Grindal, Archbishop of York, after Archbishop Parker's decease: "That "if he knew him, he could not but like him. And if he "knew him not, he marvelled, a man so sage, grave, and "aged; chief servant to my Lord of Canterbury; *chief*, he "meant, though not in office, yet in virtue principal, and "almost equal with my Lord himself, that only lantern of "Lambeth. And that as other serving men were made of "four elements, so he seemed to be composed of the four "cardinal virtues: a man for his diligence, service, and "fidelity so necessary, &c."

The order of his family.

And as his family was copious, so it was elegant, and well composed in decent order. It consisted of the youth of both qualities, that of gentlemen, and that of the plebeian degree. But both sorts well chosen. For he would admit none to live under him, but such as truly and sincerely feared God, and, beside their daily attendance, employed themselves at their leisure hours in some kind of laudable exercise; as in reading, making collections, transcribing, composing, painting, drawing, or some other application in learning or art. He required his whole family twice a day, morning and evening, to resort to the chapel to serve God, and to invoke him by common prayer; he himself seldom or never being absent, unless in case of sickness, or some weighty affairs of the state, that he might give a good example to those that belonged unto him. If any were absent, they were sure to be taken notice of, and reproved and mulcted. He took care also for the instruction of his domestics, by having sermons frequently preached to them, sometimes in his own chapel, and sometimes in the parish
503 church adjoining, by his Chaplains, and others, that required licences from him to preach; whom he used to hear first, in

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order to his approbation and allowance of them. As for the officers of his family, they were grave and worthy men, and well qualified.

Rewards his servants.

Though he could not do so much for his servants as he would, yet he was a careful and grateful master. And some preferments or other he bestowed upon them, as opportunity served. And there were few among them but had received some testimonies of his favour. He enlarged the stipends of his servants beyond what was ever given before by former Archbishops: and to such as were needy, he afforded more than their wages. To such of them he was especially liberal, in whom he perceived honesty, diligence, and trustiness in his business. He bequeathed by his last will to several of his servants as much as in all amounted to 140*l.* And to all of them their wages for the quarter wherein he died, and for the quarter following his death: which came to 112*l.* besides their board-wages, which was 95*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* more.

His Chaplains not employed in secular offices.

As for his Chaplains, he thought fit to sequester them from all secular offices in the household, which had been customary before for other Archbishops to employ their Chaplains in; that they might more diligently and intently follow their studies of divinity, and give themselves to frequent preaching of God's word.

His table;

In their daily eating, this was the custom. The steward, with the servants that were gentlemen of the better rank, sat down at the tables in the hall on the right hand; and the Almoner, with the Clergy and the other servants, sat on the other side. Where there was plenty of all sorts of wholesome provision, both for eating and drinking. The daily fragments thereof did suffice to fill the bellies of a great number of poor hungry people that waited at the gate. And so constant and unfailing was this large provision at my Lord's table, that whosoever came in, either at dinner or supper, being not above the degree of a Knight, might here be entertained worthy of his quality, either at the Steward's or at the Almoner's table. And moreover it was

And hospitality.

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Anno 1575.

the Archbishop's command to his servants, that all strangers should be received and treated with all manner of civility and respect, and that places at the table should be assigned them according to their dignity and quality: which redounded much to the praise and commendation of the Archbishop. The discourse and conversation at meals was void of all brawling and loud talking; and for the most part consisted in framing men's manners to religion, or in some other honest and beseeming subject. There was a Monitor of the hall. And if it happened that any spoke too loud, or concerning things less decent, it was presently hushed by one that cried *Silence*. The Archbishop loved hospitality, and no man shewed it so much, and with better order: though he himself was very abstemious.

Hospitable, yet a good husband.

He was indeed a mortified man to the world, and the things of it; yet his disposition led him to do things agreeable to his quality and condition, wherein God had placed him. And therefore, though he was above the affection of magnificence, yet he used magnificent hospitality, and great housekeeping, befitting his rank; and, upon occasion, sometimes he was very sumptuous both in feasts and buildings.

Historiol.

And yet he was a good husband too, and thrifty, and minded, as we say, the main chance. So good a husband he was, that he made the revenues of the see to serve all the great expenses of the first-fruits and subsidies payable to the Queen, and the other necessary charges, upon his first coming into the archbishopric; as the providing of householdstuff, ornaments, and utensils: and nevertheless sufficient there was to keep hospitality also. And yet for all this, he usually had payment tendered for what he bought every week, or at most every three months. So that no man ever sued him for a debt. And through his whole life he seemed to labour after this, that in every state of life, wherein God set him, he might live with a good testimony of conscience before him, and without being in debt to any man. From which he was very averse; prudently considering the brevity of human life, and the benefit

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of creditors, whom he would not have to suffer loss upon his account, that had so friendly at any time supplied him with every needful household provision.

His custom at home.

He eat sparingly. Drunk but little wine. Was addicted much to study, meditation, prayer, religious exercises, and other excellent actions. Was never idle, (nor would he suffer any of his family to be so;) but so constantly busied himself in one virtuous employment or other, that with very weariness he fell often into feverish distempers. 504

His habit.

He was habited gravely, and went in the garb of a Clergyman. He did indeed wear silk sometimes, not willingly, but because it was grown then so common. He would oftentimes complain of Cardinal Wolsey, for bringing in among the Clergy first the wearing of silk, as that which brought in the Asiatic luxury: and that it could not now be laid down again. He never delighted in plays and jests, nor in hunting and hawking; no, not when he was a young man. This for his family and his behaviour therein.

His study and writings.

The book of the Defence of Priests' Marriage.

Let us retire to his study and writings. In the time of his recess under Queen Mary, he writ in English (or rather enlarged with his own additions) a learned book of the marriage of priests, shewing the lawfulness thereof, both by the divine law, and the laws of the kingdom. Which he caused to be printed (concealing his name) soon after the Synod, anno 1562. A book, that of all others was most suitable and useful for the English Clergy, of any that had been writ on that argument. For there was nothing omitted of what could be desired to clear that matter, out of the most ancient histories of the kingdom, wherein none was more conversant, and better acquainted. This book was entitled, *A Defence of Priests' Marriages, established by the Imperial Laws of the Realm of England: against a Civilian naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws, going about to disprove the said Marriages lawful by the eternal Word of God, and by the High Court of Parliament: only forbid by foreign Laws, and Canons of the Pope, coloured with a Visour of the Church. Which Laws and Canons were extinguished by the Parliament, and so*

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BOOK IV. *abrogated by the Convocation in their Synod by their Subscriptions*, &c. This book came forth with the Archbishop's
Anno 1575. preface. But to give some more particular account of this book. Thomas Martin, LL. D. a creature of Bishop Gardiner's, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, wrote a book, endeavouring to prove the unlawfulness of Priests' marriage. This book was much applauded by the Papists. And a treatise, wrote beyond sea, wherein the said book was mightily magnified, fell by chance into Parker's hands, wherein also much labour was bestowed to disprove the lawful matrimony of ecclesiastical Ministers. Which brought to the Archbishop's remembrance a certain discourse, then in his custody, gathered together and written in the reign of King Philip and Queen Mary. Wherein much of the treatise of Dr. Martin was reproved and con-
In the Archbishop's preface to the Defence. futed. Which discourse he shewed was writ by a learned man of that time in adversity; who shortly after died; meaning, if God had lent him longer life, to have confuted more of the sandy grounds and principles of the said Civi-
p. 80. lian. This person, if he were of the laity, (as Mr. Hen. Wharton supposed in his specimen,) I suspect him to have been the learned Knight, Sir Richard Moryson, who died an exile in Strasburgh; if he were of the Clergy, to have
Dr. Ponet. been Ponet, late Bishop of Winchester, an exile in the same city, who also died there. And a Clergyman I suppose him to be, because in the author's preface, speaking of
p. 12. the deprived Clergy, he calls them, *these my mourning brethren*. And afterwards speaking to the Popish Clergy,
p. 16. he gives them this compellation, *O fathers and brethren*. And as these expressions import the author a Clergyman,
p. 254. so other expressions in the same book give a fair conjecture that this Clergyman was sometime Bishop of Winchester. For in one place, speaking of the church of Winchester, he writes more particularly and affectionately of it; *viz.* where speaking of Constantius, son of Constantine the Second, that he about the year 444. forsook his vow, shewed that he had been a monk of St. Amphibolus, at Winchester: which of late was called St. Swithun: but had now

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the Holy Trinity for patron: adding, "which I trust "shall keep still his possession: doubting nothing that "either Amphibolus or Swithun will take upon them to "intrude themselves again." Words that shew he had some special relation to that church. And elsewhere the publisher (who, no question, knew the author) refers in the margin unto a book formerly writ; which is noted there to be *Dr. Ponet's Apology, and First Answer to Martin's Book, and the rest of his Complices.* Which I suppose was the *Apology against T. Martin's Blasphemies*, mentioned by J. Bale; beginning, "Where shall I first begin," &c. That being his first apology, this may be reckoned his second. And this is the best light I can let into the author of this learned book. The Archbishop thinking this said MS. not unprofitable to be read for the full clearing of this con- 505
troversy, committed it to the printer. The style was in some places facetious, and more merrily penned than some graver writer would peradventure allow of. But for this author's excuse, the Archbishop said, "that he followed "somewhat the example of Sir Thomas More in his dia- "logue for purgatory, but yet that he abstained from un- "chaste tales, such as were in his adversary's book, and "partly being in adversity," [in exile from his country,] "gave himself to some solace to refresh his mind with." The Archbishop said moreover, "that he would neither "add to another man's writing, nor diminish the same. "Therefore he presented to the reader the whole book as "it was; and affirmed that his allegations were truly "avouched: assuring the reader, being persuaded of the "nature of the author, whom he had heard well reported, "that no malice or corrupt indignation moved him to write "as he did, but pure zeal to the truth of God's most holy "word, to their instruction, who would be taught in the "truth, to the amendment of the adversary in his manifest "untruth, to the comfort of them who loved God and his "verity, and to admonish all such as were either wilfully "ignorant or malicious, to expend this cause, which was of "God and of his Gospel, and deeply to consider with what

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"plagues Almighty God revenged the contempt of his "holy institution in the former reign, too much apparent, "and in too fresh remembrance to be denied."

After this preface of the Archbishop follows the author's preface, with particular addresses to King Philip and Queen Mary; to the Council; to the Prelates of the Church; to the Lower House of Parliament, and Students in Law; and an admonition to the natural and loving subjects of the realm; and then an expostulation with certain of the Clergy.

The Archbishop's enlargements of the said book.

Of this book the Archbishop was not only the publisher, but joint author also. Of which in his MS. roll he spake, that he finished a book defending Priests' marriage during Queen Mary's reign. And his son, in his *Memorial* book, speaks in some places of his father's book *of the lawfulness of Priests' marriage*. It may be worthy noting, that in some of these books, towards the conclusion, are enlargements, consisting of ten whole sheets, and about seventy-six pages: for this amplification is but in some few of the books, and left out in the rest; that the book, I suppose, might be easier for sale; and those few that were enlarged might be for the Archbishop's own use, to present to his friends. As it happened with his *British Antiquities*, some very few books whereof had his life, which all the rest wanted. But for the excellency of the matters contained in those additions, the book is most valuable. They give an historical account of the marriage of priests from before the Conquest, in the Saxon times, and bring it down to the reign of King Edward VI. out of the ancient writers of our own nation, and the Saxon chronologies; and some of the allegations are set down in the Saxon tongue. To all is added an index, which is also wanting in the common books. There be other insertions in other places of the book, put in by Parker, as at page 253, of "brabbling "against the Queen's Majesty's title of supreme governor;" which could not be Ponet's, that died some years before she came to reign.

At alphabet P p p;

Some passages of this

Now because this is a book out of common hands, I will

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CHAP. XLV.

preserve a few *excerpta* taken out of it; which will serve to discover somewhat of the learning, parts, and spirit of this venerable man. The ground of this book was a little tract written by Dr. Ponet, a flourishing scholar and Bishop under King Edward VI. for the marriage of priests. Which book Dr. Martin, a Civilian, undertook, by the persuasion and help of others, to answer; the answer consisting of six sheets in octavo, and in a very large letter. Wherein disparaging Ponet's book, he had these words: "That if "he should but make a collection of the untruths of his "book only, it might grow to a just volume, of no small "quantity." To which thus, ingeniously, did our Divine reply; "That he durst undertake to print in six leaves "out of his own book, all the whole book of Dr. Ponet, "from top to tail, both truths and those he called untruths. "But this is the rhetoric," said he, "whereof he is full up "to the chin." Our Divine goes on here, with a vivacity of wit, (as well as in other places he shewed his great reading and judgment.) "In logic he is so well seen, (especially "in Aristotle's Ethics,) that no man may go beyond him in "paralogisms and fallacies——See how aptly he brings in 506 "an argument, *à fortiori*——It is wonderful, if ye resolve "it by itself, it is so unreasonably strong. And as for arith-"metic, his wit passeth; if ye will see a trial of it, how cun-"ningly by addition and subtraction, by division and mul-"tiplication, he sheweth a proof."

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book mentioned.

Defence of Priests' Marriage, p. 119, 120.

In another place he gave a just *reprimand* to Queen Mary, that then reigned, (as well as to her great Bishops and dignitaries,) in suffering her royal father, deceased, to be so openly evil spoken of in pulpits by them. Where having occasion to make an honourable relation of a worthy saying of that King, (Hen. VIII.) which was, that he wont to say, that "he would not lose a man, if he might be "saved, for winning of any sum of money;" he had well considered, said Dr. Parker, that saying of Solomon, *In multitudine populi dignitas regis, et in paucitate plebis ignominia regis:* "Of this noble King, now," [meaning under Queen Mary,] "men," said he, "preach abroad most

Page 125.

A saying of King Henry VIII.

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"dishonourable reports openly in pulpits, and yet be re-
"puted Catholic favourers of the Queen's Highness' pro-
"ceedings."

When Dr. Martin had, in favour of the single life of Priests, very politicly shewn, that, by allowing the marriage of Priests, the nation would have such a vast increase of souls, that there would not be food sufficient to feed them, but create famine; our writer thereupon replied pleasantly by telling him a tale, which he said he had heard of a wise man, and as natural a man to his country of England; who stood not full twenty foot off when the matter was first spoken and uttered.

A passage between the French Ambassador and the Earl of Shrewsbury.

"It chanced," said he, "there came a French Ambassa-
"dor to the King's Highness (I trust God hath his soul)
"with letters, I trow, from the French King, not long be-
"fore that, sent to him from the holy Father of Rome.
"This Ambassador, sitting at the table with the Council,
"began to set up a stout countenance with a weak brain,
"and carped French exceedingly fast, which he thought to
"have been his only sufficient commendation of them all
"that were at the table, that he could speak so readily.
"The matter of his talk was universal every where. But
"the substance was partly, much noting the gluttony of
"Englishmen, who devoured so much victuals in the land;
"partly magnifying the great utility and necessity of the
"French tongue; which he noted to be almost throughout
"the world frequented. And in his conference he mar-
"velled at divers noblemen that were present, for that they
"could not keep him talk, or yet could not so much as un-
"derstand him, to perceive his gay wit. Among the num-
"ber of the Lords there, sat the honourable Captain, the
"Lord Earl of Shrewsbury, looking at his meat, and gave
"neither ear nor countenance to this jolly man, but gave
"others leave to talk, and sat, as he might, shaking head
"and hands in his palsy. Which was testimony enough,
"whether he were not in his days a warrior, lying abroad
"in the field, to take air of the ground. This French Am-
"bassador was offended with him; and said, What an ho-

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"nour were it for yonder old nobleman if he could speak "the French tongue. Surely, it is a great lack to his no- "bility. One of the Lords that kept him talk, asking first "leave of this Monsieur to report part of their commu- "nication to the Lord Shrewsbury, made report thereof, "yet in most courteous manner, to the Lord Shrewsbury, "with as easy and favourable a rehearsal as might touch a "truth.

"When he heard it, where before his head, by great age, "was almost groveling on the table, he roused himself up "in such wise, that he appeared, in length of body, as "much as he was thought ever in all his life before. And "knitting his brows, he laid his hand on his dagger; and "set his countenance in such sort, that the French hardy "Ambassador turned colour wonderfully. Saith that French "——" [giving him an hard name] "so? Marry, tell him, "by sweet St. Cuthbert, if I knew that I had but one pesti- "lent French word in all my body, I would take my dag- "ger, and dig it out before I rose from the table. And tell "him again, howsoever he hath been hunger-starved him- "self at home in France, that *if we should not eat our "beasts, and make victual of them as fast as we do, they "would so increase beyond measure, that they would make "victual of us, and eat us up.* When these words were "reported again to this French guest, he spoiled no more "victual at the dinner after that, but drank wondrous oft: "which whether it was his countenance because he had left "talking, or whether for that he was inwardly dry, the re- "porter of this tale could tell me no further; but said, that 507
"his eye was never off him all that dinner while after."

And then Dr. Parker applied this story to his purpose. "Now, Master Student of Paris," [meaning Dr. Martin,] "this very *nobleman* indeed, and worthy to be had in long "remembrance, was of better experience in the fertility of "this realm than you would seem to know. And had an- "other manner of faith to God for the continuance of it, "than ye have, to fear such a lack and scarcity."

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Anno 1575. Fear of dearth, no argument against Priests' marriage.

And because this dread of scarcity, if the nation should be over-peopled, was made use of now as a deadly politic argument to disallow marriage to Priests; our Divine shewed a little of his skill in the ancient histories of this land, by letting his adversary see how much more populous England was in former times than at present. Which he demonstrated from the vast numbers that were swept away by some plagues in former times. That he once being at a merchant's table in London, when some discourse happened concerning the jubilees appointed by certain Popes, an honest plain man in the company shewed how he had read in our English chronicles of two plagues, both happening in two of these jubilee years, (notwithstanding the Pope's indulgences and pardons of clean remission then granted.) The one about the thirteenth year of Henry VII. when there died in London about thirty thousand souls. And the other about the twenty-fourth of Edward III. [anno 1350, almost an hundred and fifty years before.] In which there was an universal pestilence in Italy and other countries. And in England, (as he shewed out of Fabian,) after they had buried in every churchyard within London, and among the religious houses too, [which supposed the death of multitudes of people,] they were fain to use the great churchyard of the Charter-house. In which place only were buried 50,000 corpses. There was present then at the table another, which seemed to be a credible man, of the city of Norwich, [undoubtedly meaning himself,] who declared, that they had in their city a record [and he was a great record-searcher] of those that died at that time in Norwich; which, he said, amounted (as he was well remembered thereof) unto 57,374, besides esclesiastical people, and poor wayfaring folks; and besides thirty-nine, who died, of the Monks. Which he supposed, as he added, to be a greater number than was in his days in the whole city, and five miles about. And we may conclude, he that was so good an antiquarian was not less seen in the antiquities of his own native city.

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CHAP. XLV.

Anno 1575. Queen Mary's Commissaries broke the statutes of the land.

Let me make a collection or two more out of this notable tract of Dr. Parker's. When he had made an observation, how in the beginning of Queen Mary's government Commissaries were every where appointed, who, without further advisement, took upon them wondrous stoutly (saith he) to separate men from their wives; not only regulars but seculars too, against their wills and consents; upon which their doings he desired to ask them a close question; which was, "How they could gloss the words of King Henry's "statute, in his twenty-seventh year; wherein it was plainly "decreed in law, that all manner of licences, dispensations, "and faculties, obtained of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "in matters not repugnant or contrary to the holy Scrip-"tures and laws of God, should stand in full authority and "strength, without any revocation or repeal hereafter, to "be had of any such licence. And he knew (as he said) "divers married Priests, which had such dispensations cor-"roborated by the King's Broad Seal; some by the said "Archbishop's seal. Upon this he urged them in this "manner: I would fain learn how they understand these "weighty laws of the realm. Belike, as they have pro-"ceeded in deprivations of many men, never called or "cited, never convict nor confessed; and some called on "the one day, and flat deprived on the next day, not ex-"amining whether he were secular or regular; married be-"fore Orders or after, without all manner of inquisition; so "belike they desire to proceed in separations, both against "God's laws and their own. And as for the laws of the "realm, they make but wash-way of them," &c.

And when Dr. Martin, to vindicate this method of proceeding, had said, that "it was but a poor shift for an "Englishman to stand to the statute law of the realm, if "the Church laws be against him;" our writer briskly puts the reader in mind of King Henry, in these words; "O, if King Henry were alive again, think you this man "would so write to teach his subjects? And hath King "Henry, of all such as he hath promoted with livings and "lordships, no friends? Or rather the truth itself, yea, the 508

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"honour of the realm, no patrons to monish this Civi-
"lian, &c. Let glosses be glosses, and will, will; but let
"law be law against captious Civilians. Words of strength
"and weight, and proceeding from a true English heart."

Recommends two books, *vis.* De Potest. Regiâ et Ecclesiast. and,

To conclude, when he had noted, how in Queen Mary's articles, given to her Commissaries abovesaid, she charged the ecclesiastical Ordinaries to put in execution the canon and ecclesiastical laws; and yet none other, but such as were used in the time of King Henry VIII. and commanded also moreover, that those should no further be put in execution, but as they might stand with the laws and statutes of the realm; our Divine took occasion hence to speak of a famous state-book, set forth in that King's reign, entitled, *De Potestate Regiâ et Ecclesiasticâ;* declaring, "That there was a point of learning in that book, "written here in England, that not all the Canonists in "England should ever be able to answer: and that it had "hitherto lain unanswered this twenty years of all the Ro-"manists in Christendom. The point was, that the Romish "canons should be by-rules and canons, taken and refused "upon consent, and as should be meet for the policy of the "realm." And he advised this Civilian to read it, and expend it over. And if he doubted further of any thing contained therein, that he should consult with certain of the [then] Bishops, that were in most authority that day; by whose learning and collections the book was written: and they could further resolve him. [He meant Gardiner, Tonstal, Sampson, Thirleby, Heath, &c. who had now, contrary to their judgment given in that book, submitted again to the Pope's laws, to their shame.] And together with that, he exhorted him to apply himself to another, wrote in the same King's reign, and by consultation and consent of all the Bishops; namely, *The Institution* [or *Erudition*] *of a Christen Man.* Which, he told him, was presented to that King by all the Bishops of the realm, for stable doctrine, to be universally preached; and so assured by the subscription of all their names. And particularly directed him to the exposition there of the ninth and tenth articles of the

The Institution of a Christen Man.

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Creed; and their doctrine written there, in the sacrament of Orders. And so bade him consider their judgments. This was the opinion of Dr. Parker of those two books: and such generally was the great esteem the learnedest men in those days had of them; as they well deserved.

The Psalms in English metre.

The Archbishop published also the Psalms of David in very elegant English metre, dividing them into three parts; each part containing fifty Psalms, which I have not yet come to the sight of. These also were his employment in his solitary retirement in the Marian days for his own comfort, and for the comfort of his friends in those melancholy times. Besides these, he wrote other tracts, which were not published: some whereof remain among his MSS. in Bene't college; as has been shewed before.

The book of the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws.

And he was the setter forth, I make little doubt, of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, compiled by Archbishop Cranmer with infinite pains, for the spiritual government, and the rules of the civil courts of the kingdom. Cranmer's own copy, wherein are his corrections and additions in several places, as also much writing of Peter Martyr, who assisted in the work; this authentic copy, I say, fell into Archbishop Parker's hands; and he reduced the titles into order, and had it fair written for the press, as we have it now printed: having therein the assistance of John Fox; the Preface that stands before it being of his writing, as I have also in another place of this book mentioned.

His study of antiquities.

The spare hours of his old age (which was pleasant and cheerful) he spent in searching into ancient authors, then not come to light, and in comparing the opinions of the modern Doctors with the opinions of the ancients. And especially he inquired into our British and Saxon monuments, which treated of this Church of Britain. Whereby he saw evidently, how much this our Church, by the encroachments of the Papacy, had deviated from its ancient doctrines and practices. And such a lover of antiquities he was, that he designed certain persons to go over all England, with his authority, to seek for ancient MSS. And for

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this purpose, that his authority might be the more regarded, he obtained, not without much entreaty, a licence and authority from the Queen and her Council, to search into all the ancient writings and monuments in the kingdom, and to take copies thereof, and to appoint fit persons for that end, as hath been related before. And all the an-
509 tique pieces that he got, for the better and surer preservation of them, he bound up together in volumes, and covered with vellum. Many of which he procured to be printed, for the illuminating the story of the ancient English church and kingdom; as we shall shew hereafter.

A charter inserted by him into the Black Book of the Archdeacons of Cant.

But beside the books he writ or published, and the antiquities he collected, he commonly made improvements to MSS. by additions of his own, and so particularly he did in the Black Book, belonging to the Archdeacon of Canterbury. Which however gave offence to one of the succeeding Archdeacons, as we shall hear by and by. That which our Archbishop added in this said book were two charters: one whereof was a charter of Archbishop Richard, to Archdeacon Herbert; whereby the archidiaconal jurisdictions were said to be enlarged. And in the margin was writ by our Archbishop's own hand this note, *Concessio personalis circa annum Domini* 1230, (which date the reverend late deceased Mr. Nic. Battely, the setter forth of *Cantuaria Sacra*, shewed to have been a mistake.) This charter was transcribed by Somner in his Antiquities of Canterbury. But upon our Archbishop's note on this beforesaid grant, there were some angry annotations subjoined by a later hand; namely, Archdeacon Redman, (as the said Mr. Battely guessed,) who was Archdeacon the year after Archbishop Parker died. They are in sum these; (let the reader judge of the validity of them;) "That Archbishop Mat-
"thew did unjustly retain the Black Book in his hand for
"some time. And in that time caused this concession of
"grant to be inserted into it, in prejudice of the arch-
"deaconry. But that all the things in this concession were
"not to be understood as then first personally granted to
"the Archdeacon of Canterbury: for some belonged to

Cantuaria Sacra.

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"him by the very archidiaconal right, as the induction of "Clerks. Some were formerly granted to the Archdeacon "and his successors, as the creation of Rural Deans, as "appeared by the writing of the Prior and Chapter of "Canterbury, to William Archbishop of Canterbury. "Which the said Lord Matthew, in the following folio, in-"serted out of the register of Richard the Prior. That "it appeared also by the Preface of this grant, that Her-"bert the Archdeacon claimed many of those things as "pertaining *de jure* to the archdeaconry. That yet there "were some things that belonged to him only on account "of this personal concession, as the cognizance of causes "matrimonial, and the institution of Parsons or Rectors. "Which neither at this day the Archdeacon of Canterbury "or his Official claimed to himself by his right." This may be read at large in the Appendix to *Cantuaria Sacra*, N°. XXXII.

CHAP. XLVI.

His Chaplains. His relations; wife, children, and posterity. His eldest son, Sir John Parker, Knight. His estate and family.

The Archbishop's Chaplains.

WHILE we are thus surveying within the walls of his house, we may cast an eye upon his Lordship's Chaplains. Of some of them I know little more but that they were his relations, as Harleston, Bungey, and Norgate, but divers others of them were afterwards preferred to great dignities and trusts in the Church.

Robinson.

Nic. Robinson, D. D. was one of these, a Welshman by birth; who was made Bishop of Bangor, anno 1566, succeeding Dr. Merick. Which Robinson was a prudent man, and well furnished, as well with human learning as divine, eloquent in the Latin and English tongues, and an excellent preacher.

Curtise.

Richard Curtis, or Coortis, was another, who became Bishop of Chichester, anno 1570, after the death of Bar-

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BOOK IV. low. He was a Lincolnshire man, bred at St. John's college in Cambridge. A great Court preacher. And certain of his sermons are printed, preached at St. Paul's Cross, at Westminster, at Greenwich, and Richmond, being Court sermons.

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510. Edmund Scambler was one of his first Chaplains. He was in the year 1560. made Bishop of Peterburgh, and afterwards translated to Norwich; being a Lancashire man, bred at Cambridge, in degree Dr. of Divinity; Preacher for some time to the Protestant congregation in London, while Queen Mary governed; and was then in great danger.

Scambler.

Dr. Bickley was another, bred in Magdalen college, Oxon, and an exile in Queen Mary's reign. This his Chaplain the Archbishop procured to be preferred to the wardenship of Merton college. He was one, of whose abilities in preaching the Archbishop had a great opinion. And therefore appointed him to preach often before the Queen in the times of Lent, and at London, at Paul's Cross, and at other parish churches there, when divers incumbents, about the year 1565, were suspended, as a punishment for their non-compliance with the ecclesiastical orders. He was a bold man, and feared nobody in the discharge of his duty. For which, together with other laudable qualities observed in him, he was valued both by the Lord Treasurer Burghley, and Archbishop Whitgift, long after his own Lord's death. This Dr. Bickley, in the year 1584, had exercised some just censure upon one who was near of kin to the said Archbishop, and whom he had brought up, and was also favoured by the Earl of Leicester, and preferred by him, I suppose, to be Fellow of Merton college. This man, to curry favour with Leicester, and being a person of popularity and vainglory, had done, or spoke, or disputed somewhat, verging, as it seems, towards Puritanism. For which Bickley, not regarding what his dependences were, laid due punishment upon him. Whereupon the Lord Treasurer wrote a private letter to Archbishop Whitgift, signifying his fears, that it would exceedingly provoke the said nobleman to do

Bickley.

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some mischief to the Churchmen. But that Archbishop wrote back again, "That Dr. Bickley had dealt with his "kinsman even as he would wish; and that it was a good "schooling for him, seeming to be infected with the disease "of popularity and vainglory. And as to his fears of Lei-"cester's doing some ill turns, the Archbishop said, that "Bickley had done both wisely and lawfully, and wished "to God that he and such as he might be called in the "new rooms then vacant." And so he was the next year, *viz.* 1585, and was made Bishop of Chichester.

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Still.

Dr. Still, when young, became also domestic to Archbishop Parker. But a man of such staidness and gravity, that at the age of thirty, being Bachelor of Divinity, the Archbishop thought him fit for the deanery of Norwich, his well-beloved native place; as he had recommended him but a little before for a prebend of Westminster. And though so young, yet, he said, he took him to be more mortified than others of forty or fifty. And when he solicited the Lord Treasurer in his behalf, he told him, "that were "he not his Chaplain, he would say, he were a man in all "respects as fit as any he knew in England. And that had "he not wished well to his country, he would have been "very loath to bestow him, or spoil him in that place." But though he missed this preferment, and that his good Lord and patron never saw him preferred, yet upon the remove of Whitgift from Trinity college, in the year 1577, Still was constituted Master there. Where he proved a very diligent and good governor for many years, struggling often with Puritan members; such principles having got great footing in that college for a long time, by reason of the sway and influence of Thomas Cartwright, formerly Fellow there: till the year 1592, when he was advanced to the see of Bath and Wells.

Guest.

Guest also, if I mistake not, was his Chaplain, a Yorkshireman; of whom great use was made in settling the affairs of the Reformation in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign: to whom he was Almoner. He was also Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Bishop of Rochester: afterwards

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he was removed to Sarum. Of this man we have had occasion to speak before in this history, and elsewhere.

Anno 1575. Annals. Peerson.

Another in this quality and relation to the Archbishop was Andrew Peerson, who, in the year 1563, resided in his family, and was his Almoner; and in the year 1548 or 1549 had been Proctor of the University of Cambridge. He had three parsonages, all situate in the deanery of Shoram, the Archbishop's peculiar, namely, Wrotham, Brastede, and Chedingston: and was Prebendary also of Canterbury, succeeding John Bale, the antiquary, about the year 1563. And having a very fair and convenient house belonging to
511 his prebend, he earnestly invited the Lord Treasurer by the Archbishop to be his guest, in the year 1573, when the Queen and her Court came thither in progress. He was one the Archbishop confided much in, and made much use of in his visitations; made him Commissary of his Faculties, and by his last will constituted him one of his executors.

Man.

John Man is the last of his Chaplains I shall mention. He translated into English Musculus's Common Places; which he did by the Archbishop's encouragement and suggestion: and dedicated the book to him. Haddon, in one of his poems, brings in the Archbishop recommending the reading of this book;

Hunc tibi commendat commendatissimus ipse
Officio Primas, primus et ingenio.

This man the Archbishop placed in the wardenship of Merton college, after a visitation of that house, and discharge of one Gervays, a Popish Warden; and was the Warden next preceding Bickley before spoke of. Soon after the Queen preferred this man in an embassy to Spain.

His relations and posterity.

Before we pass out of the good Archbishop's family, and go abroad to take a view of his benefactions, we must see at length what posterity and relations he had, and left behind him.

His care of his wife.

But before we come to that, I shall give a note or two upon his beloved and well-deserving wife. It was his care to make provision for her convenient and creditable liveli-

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hood after his decease, supposing she might outlive him. He settled upon her his house at Bekesborn, and the Duke of Norfolk's house at Lambeth, among other things. And when he purchased S. Mary's Hostle in Cambridge, he made his wife joint-purchaser with himself. And this he afterwards conveyed to her. And in his instrument of conveyance that he made, she was always styled Margaret Parker, alias Harleston, which was her maiden name. The reason whereof was, because the marriage of the Clergy was now not valid in law, there having been no law made in Queen Elizabeth's reign in favour of Priests' marriage, and the act of repeal made under Queen Mary of those acts of King Edward's Parliament for allowance of their marriage still standing in force. Wherefore the Archbishop was fain to get his children legitimated, that they might have a right to inherit. And so Sir Simon Degge tells us, "That Priests' "children, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, were fain to "be legitimated. In the first and third of King Edward, all "laws, statutes, and canons, against the marriage of Priests, "were made null and void. And by another statute in the "fifth and sixth of King Edward, it was adjudged and de-"clared, that the marriage of Priests was lawful, and legi-"timated their children, and made them capable to endow "their wives, and to be tenants by courtesy. But these "laws were repealed in the first of Queen Mary, and lay "repealed all Queen Elizabeth's days, till the first of King "James, and then the latter acts of King Edward were re-"vived, and made perpetual, and Priests' children made "legitimate." This then in short is the account of that matter.

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Parsons Counsel, p. 128.

The case standing thus between the Clergymen and their wives under this Queen, Mrs. Parker deceasing before her husband the Archbishop, it created some trouble to him, because her brother was her heir at law, and not her children by the Archbishop, as may appear from a certain roll in the Archbishop's court for his manor of Lambeth. "*Sic* "*irrotulatur in rotulis curiæ Archiep. Cant. tent. apud* "*Lambeth, Apr.* 23, 1570. *an. Eliz.* 13. *Item*, We present,

Not her son, but her brother, heir at law, upon her death. N. Batteley.

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Anno 1575.

"that Margaret Parker died seized of a certain messuage, "with gardens and inclosure, and other lands with the appurtenances, situate, lying, and being in the parish of "Lambeth, in the county of Surry: which sometimes were "of the worthy Prince Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. After "whose decease Matthew Parker the younger, of Lambeth "aforesaid, Gentleman, entered. In which possessions one "Simon Harleston, of Mendlesham in the county of Suffolk, "&c. brother and heir [mark that] of the same Margaret, "hath demised to the said Matthew Parker, his heirs, &c. "all his right, &c. as by the deed of release, sealed and "delivered, bearing date December 14, 1570, doth appear." So that hence it is evident, that Harleston, Mrs. Parker's brother, was her heir at law, and not her son, and had no right to it, till the said Harleston devised it to him. Who, 512 being the younger brother, according to the custom of that manor, had the right to possess. For so it was set down in the margin of this MS. "The custom of the manor of "Lambeth is, that the copyhold lands (which is the Bell, "and the close) shall descend to the younger son."

The Archbishop's posterity.

Next, let us take some knowledge of his children. God gave the Archbishop four sons; two whereof died young. John and Matthew lived; very hopeful young men, and adorned with all their father's and mother's manners. The Archbishop had them instructed both at home and at Cambridge. And he married them both to the daughters of his brethren Bishops. John the eldest married Joanna, or Joan, daughter of Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely. His younger son Matthew married Frances, daughter of Barlow, Bishop of Chichester. Of both which women his sons had issue. They both lived with him, or very near him, at the Duke's house, after they were married; that their reverend father might have the pleasure and divertisement, as well as inspection of his children and grandchildren, after the loss of his dear wife? And that they might have him, their father, for a constant example of matrimonial love, and that his trouble for the loss of his beloved wife might in some measure be abated by the company and comfort of his chil-

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dren. And his sons' carriage was so obliging, pleasant, and humane, that they had the love and esteem of all.

Anno 1575.

John Parker knighted.

John, his eldest son, was knighted at Whitehall, July 23, 1603, upon King James's first coming to Westminster, in company with a great many more, Judges, Sergeants, Doctors of the Civil Law, Gentlemen Ushers, Clerks of the Signet, and other gentlemen, that received that honour then at the King's hands. There was another John Parker knighted the same year; but that was at Newark. Our Parker was alive anno 1616, as is evident by a MS. of heraldry of his own hand, wherein are many coats tricked, and other matters relating to his family.

His children.

The Archbishop had posterity by this his son John: who had issue by his wife aforesaid five children, Matthew, Margaret, Jane, and Richard, and another son. As his own father gave his eldest son his name; so his younger son Richard had his name from his father-in-law. Matthew was born at Canterbury, May 15, 1570. Richard was born at Cambridge, May 20, 1577. A third son, the name unknown, was born at Bekesborn, May 30, anno Margaret was born at Lambeth, March 21, 1568. And Jane was born March 13, 1571.

Margaret Parker marries to Diggs; N. Batteley.

His daughter Margaret was matched into a good family in Kent, namely, that of the Diggs. For she was married to Thomas Diggs, of Berham, Esquire, Sept. 28, 1584, as by the Register of Bekesborn, and other books in the Herald Office, it appeareth. He was a *ward*, and, as it seems, under the care and guardianship of Mr. Parker, afterwards his father-in-law. In certain old writings, bearing date 1588, he is styled Tho. Diggs, of London, Esq. because he studied the law in one of the Inns of Court, and was now, I suppose, a Barrister. This family of the Diggs was also related to another Archbishop of Canterbury, *viz.* Abbot. And there is, or lately was, one Mrs. Diggs, niece to the said Archbishop Abbot. The dowry that Mr. Parker gave with his said daughter Margaret in marriage, may be understood by a note in his memorial; wherein it is thus writ: "J. Parker, "&c. was bound in 1500*l.* to Tho. Diggs, of Chevening in

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"the county of Kent, Esq. May 30, 1593. The condition "of the bond is for the quiet and peaceable passing over "the lease of the manor of Boughton from the said John "Parker to the said Tho. Diggs." So that this lease was in all likelihood her portion, and made over in order to Diggs's settling a jointure. They sojourned some time with their father Parker at Bekesborn. Afterwards they lived at Berham, where the ancient seat of the family is to this day called Diggs's Place. Margaret Diggs outlived her husband, and enjoyed for her jointure Hawt, Reed, and Yokes Court. She is mentioned in the case called Diggs's Case, in Coke's Reports. She was married afterwards to Tho. Palmer, Gentleman, son of Sir Henry Palmer, of Bekesborn in Kent. This Sir Henry was a man of great note in Queen Elizabeth's days, for sea affairs, having been an Admiral, as appears by his monument in Bekesborn chancel. Of this family there is a full and good account in Guillim's Display of Heraldry, under the name of Palmer of Howlets, in the parish of Bekesborn in Kent.

And afterwards to Palmer.

513 By Diggs's case, mentioned before, it appears that Christopher Diggs made his will Feb. 1, 1576, and died soon after. For Martha, the wife of this Christopher, survived her husband, and died May 1, 1577. That they left several children, whereof Tho. Diggs was eldest, and made heir by his father's will. That Thomas married, sometime after his father's death, his wife Margaret: and that he died April 10, anno Eliz. 32. which was anno Dom. 1590. That he left her great with child of Tho. Diggs, who was born July 2. following. That afterwards she married to Tho. Parker, Esquire. For by licence from the Queen, dated Sept. 27, 1596, Margaret, and by her right, Thomas Parker her husband, were appointed guardians to Thomas Diggs, her son by Diggs, her first husband.

She has issue by Diggs. N. Batteley.

Matthew, John Parker's eldest son.

Of his eldest son Matthew, I shall speak by and by: who married, and had issue. For in John Parker's house at Bekesborn, in a room where the blazonry of his family is painted in the glass, next before the coat of his son-in-law, and daughter Diggs, is the coat of Parker impaled baron

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and femme: which I take to belong to his eldest son Matthew. This house, I suppose, when John Parker left Bekesborn, (which was about 1589 or 1590,) was inhabited by his said son Matthew. And Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, granted to this Matthew Parker, (styled) of Lambeth, Gent. the manor and demeans of Bekesborn, by indenture of lease for twenty-one years, dated Jan. 13, 34 Eliz. anno 1591, paying yearly 15*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* And in the year 1596, this indenture was assigned to one Stocket, of Canterbury, Gent. in consideration of 355*l.* paid Matthew, (in likelihood being now gone hence.) And so the Parkers ceased to have any thing more to do in Bekesborn. And Matthew retired to Sittingburn, where he died.

Anno 1575.

Richard his younger.

To his younger son Richard he made over St. Mary's Hostle in reversion. His father bred him up a scholar, and gave him many books for his help and encouragement in his studies, and intended him many more. There was a considerable number of MSS. the names whereof are specified in Mr. John Parker's memorial; wherein he wrote that he intended them for his son Richard; who seems to have been in Orders. In the records belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, a dispensation was granted by the Archbishop to Richard Parker, *ad recipiendos utrosque ordines unico die*, dated March 10, 1579. But this Richard was none of John Parker's son: he seems to have been some relation. Our Richard seems to have been a spendthrift. And there is a tradition in Bene't college, which I was once told by Dr. Spencer, sometime a worthy Master of that college, that one of the Archbishop's posterity was maintained by the college, and at last buried at their charge. And it seems so by a passage in his father's memorial, which was, that he lent his son Richard the Acts and Monuments in colours, but he pawned it to Mr. Ingram for 4*l.*

Jane his younger daughter.

I find nothing more of Sir John Parker's children, but that to his daughter Jane he gave certain householdstuff.

John Parker after his father's

But the quality and circumstances of the said Sir John Parker, the Archbishop's only surviving son, may be some-

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what understood by these collections following. He lived in the time next after his father's death at his house at Bekesborn, for the most part, till the year 1589 or 1590. For his hand is to be seen set to the parish's yearly accounts until that time. That house the Archbishop purchased of Wil. Whiting, (whom the Archbishop sometime made use of for his collector,) a person of good rank in those parts, to be a habitation for his wife: who dying before him, it came to his son and heir. The house is now alienated, but in it are memorials still remaining of the Parkers, put up there by the said John Parker. In one room there stands in the windows the coats of Queen Elizabeth, and of some others his chief friends and patrons, as Archbishop Whitgift, Brook, Lord Cobham, and the Lord Latymer. In another window be the coats of his grandfather and next relations, with the families whereinto they matched, all parted per pale, baron and femme. But first of all is the paternal coat of Parker, the chevron not charged with three estoils; over it a mantle of antique form, with the helmet of the degree of a Gentleman, and for the crest an elephant's head. Next is Parker, and the coat impaled is gules, three crescents; or, a mullet for difference. (This coat belongs to Sir Will. Monins of Wardershire, an ancient family in Kent, and over it the elephant's head.) The next is the coat of John Parker and Cox his wife, bearing the arms of Bi-
514 shop Cox. The next is the coat of Matthew Parker, the Archbishop's second son, with a crescent in the chevron; and the woman is Barlow, daughter of the Bishop of that name. The next to that is Parker, and the arms impaled is paly of six pieces, or, and sable, which I suppose might pertain to Matthew Parker (or Richard Parker) and his wife. The last is the coat of Diggs (which is gules, a cross argent, charged with five eagles displayed sable) and Parker: that is, Mr. Thomas Diggs and Mrs. Margaret Parker, who lived here at Bekesborn with their father: as also did Mrs. Rachel Cox, the sister of Mrs. Parker, and daughter to Bishop Cox; as appears by a list of oblations given at the

Anno 1575. death lived at Bekesborn.

N. Batteley late Vicar there.

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communion in the year 1587. After the year 1590. he seems to have left Bekesborn; and then lived sometimes in Doctors Commons, and sometimes at Lambeth.

Anno 1575.

Bekesborn.

Bekesborn House was conveyed by John Parker, and John Whitney, to Alexander Hamon, by indenture, May the 7th, 36 Eliz. anno 1594, for 335*l.* and May the 8th ensuing 30*l.* more, to be paid at the chamber of the said John Parker, at Doctors Commons.

The manor of Bekesborn that had been granted by John, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Matthew Parker, soon after came into other hands, as hath been shewed before.

John Parker's demeans and places.

In what quality the Archbishop left this his son John, and what places and offices he obtained, both from his father and father-in-law, and also from the two succeeding Archbishops, I shall next shew. He purchased an estate of the right honourable Sir John Pawlet, Knt. Earl of Wilts, and Lord Marquess of Winchester, and Sir Willam Pawlet, Knt. Lord St. John, son and heir of the said Lord Pawlet, and Swinthurn Thorp, Gent. for the sum of 1992*l.* It was the manor of Nonney Castle and Nonney Glaston, in the county of Somerset. Other lands and demeans he had, *viz.* Coliorton manor in Leicestershire, which was his wife's jointure: an estate at Erlham in Norfolk; the capital house whereof was called Singers; which was part of his wife's jointure also. He had an estate also at Bassingborn in Essex.

MS. Joh. Parker. penes D. Tho. revendiss. Archiep. Cantuar.

After the death of his brother Matthew, the manor of Dannson or Daunsington in Bexly, in the county of Kent, (which he gave by will to his wife for twenty-one years, and after that time to be disposed of by the Archbishop his father,) dying without issue surviving, came to John his brother. For the said Archbishop, by virtue of his son Matthew's will, gave the said Daunson to the said John his heir, in case the child his said wife went with came not to the age of one and twenty. This deed was dated the 20th of March, anno 1574. The 23d of June, anno Eliz. 18, 1576, the said John Parker did grant unto Frances Parker, his brother Matthew's widow, an annuity of 44*l.* to be yearly issuing out of the said manor of Daunsington, and out of his

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manor of Boughton: in consideration, that she had surrendered the said manor of Daunsington (whereof she was then possessed for term of her life) to him, to remain without incumbrance. Of this manor John Parker, and his wife Joan, afterwards acknowledged a fine, according to covenant, with John Whitney, the 8th of February, anno Eliz. 20.

Duke of Norfolk's house.

To the same John Parker came also Lambeth House, formerly belonging to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, (in which capital mess or dwelling-house he and his ancestors were accustomed to lie,) with other houses and lands thereunto appertaining. In the first of the Queen, the said Duke made away by indenture the premises to Richard Garth and John Dister, both of St. Dunstan's in the west for 400*l.* These the Archbishop afterwards purchased for his wife Margaret. For by inquisition made April 23, 13 Eliz. she was found at her death seized of a certain mess with gardens and inclosures, and other lands, with the appurtenances, set, lying, and being in the parish of Lambeth; which some time were the worthy Prince's Thomas Duke of Norfolk. And that after whose decease, Matthew Parker the younger, of Lambeth aforesaid, Gent. entered into the said estate: into the possession of which Simon Harleston, of Mendlesham, Yeoman, brother and heir of the said Margaret, had demised to him the said Matthew all the right, 14th December, 1570. He enjoyed it accordingly during his life, and bequeathed it to his issue, male or female, that is, his house and land in Lambeth, and the capital messuage, known by the name of the Duke of Norfolk's house, and that called the Bell on the east, and the other adjoining on the west, called sometime the George. But his issue failing, this also came to John Parker. Now for his places and offices.

515 His father the Archbishop granted to him the office of Keeper of the Prerogative Court, and to Dr. Tho. Yale jointly, and the longest liver. The instrument bore date the 12th of July 1570. But this instrument is crossed through in John Parker's MS. and this noted in the margin, *That 8 Ed. IV. one office could not be granted to two persons.* So

Grants to him from Archbishop Parker; MS. penes reverendiss. ubi supra.

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in the year following the place was conferred upon Dr. Yale solely, but on condition to pay to John Parker, Esq. 40*l.* per ann. quarterly in the south porch of Lambeth church.

Anno 1575.

The chief registership the Archbishop also granted, 11 Eliz. Oct. 30, to John and his brother Matthew, and to Thomas Pead, and the over-liver of them, when it should become void, Incent, the present Register, being then alive. This, 15 Eliz. 1573. was assigned to his two sons: and John enjoyed it wholly the next year, upon his brother Matthew's death.

The Archbishop granted also the office of the Court of Audience by patent, dated July 22, 1572, to his two sons, and Thomas Pead, Public Notary: who was bound in a bond of 300*l.* to the said John and Matthew, to pay them 40*l.* yearly, during both their natural lives. After Matthew's death John passed over his right in the same office to Thomas Wheeler, of London.

Another patent the Archbishop his father granted him and his brother Matthew, to be Keepers of the Archbishop's palace in Canterbury, and receive the fee of 2*d.* a day, to be paid by equal payments at Ladyday and Michaelmas, and one livery, such as the Archbishop's servants, which are called Gentlemen, usually have; and two dishes of meat every day, the Archbishop residing in his said house: and to be Keepers of woods, called South Bishops Ded and Herst, in Le Blene, Stoke and Shemingheld juxta Harboldown; and to receive the usual profits of 12*d.* per week; dated at Lambeth, October 29, 1573. confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, November 26, 1573. Also, the said Archbishop made a lease to his said son John, September 30, 1572, of twenty-three acres of land in Chistelet marshes for twenty-one years. This lease was renewed to him by Edmund, the next Archbishop of Canterbury.

And Archbishop Grindal;

The same Edmund Archbishop granted him and his two sons, Matthew and Richard, a patent for keeping the palace at Canterbury, dated November 20, 1581. confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, December 20. following. Of which patent John Parker, in his memorial book, makes this me-

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morandum: "Notwithstanding this last patent, in which I "am named with my sons, I kept my old grant uncancelled, "lest hereafter any change might be made in my life, by "reason of the Archbishop's restraint." For indeed about that time, that most reverend Father lay under the Queen's displeasure, and was sequestered.

Anno 1575.

And the Bishop of Ely;

Richard Bishop of Ely granted to John Parker, Esq. and John Cox his son, of Fenstanton, in the county of Huntingdon, Gent. to be Masters of his park and chase of Somersham; dated at Downham, May 2. anno R. Eliz. 10. confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Ely, May the 8th following.

And Archbishop Whitgift.

The parsonage of Reculver, and chapel of Hern, and chapel or rectory of Hoath, was granted by Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the said John Parker, Feb. 23, 1587. Also he had a grant by indenture, dated June 18, 1588, to be steward of the household to the said Archbishop; and had the lease of the manor of Boughton granted him.

St. Mary Ostle in Cambridge.

And in the town of Cambridge he was possessed of St. Mary Ostle. Which his father the Archbishop purchased Feb. 20, Regin. Eliz. 7. of Dr. Pory, Master of Bene't college, (to which house it belonged,) for 80*l.* and March 1. following, the said Pory passed over to the Archbishop an annual rent payable for certain tenements and lands belonging to the said college, for 42*l.*

MS. Joh. Parker. ubi supra.

This Ostle was a great while ago leased out by the college, and bought in again by the same. Which lease, and the situation and bounds of the place, and the stone house, (which was near adjoining to it,) may be better understood by this account taken out of an old instrument. 10 Sept. 16 H. VIII. Will. Sowode, Master of the college of Corpus Christi and our blessed Lady the Virgin, in Cambridge, and the Fellows of the same college, did by indenture demise, grant, and let to farm to Will. Butte of Cambridge, Doctor of Physic, all that their tenement called St. Mary Ostle, set and builded in the parish of St. Mary next the market, between the tenement of the prior and convent of Anglesey

Dr. Butte.

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on the north, and the tenement belonging to the said Master and Fellows of Bene't college, in part in the tenure of George Norman, and part in the tenure of the said Will. Butte on the south. And also demised to the said Will. Butte 516 part of a certain cottage, called the Stone House, set and builded in the said south side in the west end thereof, as it was divided with a pile wall, and inclosed between the said Will. Butte and Norman; to have from Midsummer next, [anno 1524.] for fourscore and nineteen years; yielding and paying 24*s.* yearly, &c. Afterwards this lease devolved to John Blyth, Doctor of Physic, and he bargained and sold back, ann. 2 and 3 Ph. and Mary, to Laurence Moptyde, Master of Bene't college, his title and interest for term of years, remaining in the said tenement called St. Mary Ostle: then afterwards Dr. Walker (as it seems, another physician) had it. Whose executor, Henry Walker, sold unto Dr. Pory, Master of the said college, the said devise or lease for 120*l.* Dec. 10, 7 Eliz. As also an annuity or yearly rent of 26*s.* and 4*d.* belonging unto the manor of Coton Hall in Cambridgeshire, and payable and due out of the said Bene't college. And then it was sold, as abovesaid, from the said Master and college to the Archbishop.

Parker's house in St. Mary Ostle.

Besides the Regent Walk, which the Archbishop made out of this Ostle, there remained a fair house there, which descended to his son John Parker. For the furnishing this house, he bought the goods of Katharine Parker, widow of John Parker, late of Cambridge, Gent. his relation: which he bestowed in the said Ostle; of which the said Katharine Parker was housekeeper. This was October 14, 1586. Where, among many other things specified in the said Parker's memorial to be in the hall, were the pictures of the Countess of Darby and Richmond, (that famous foundress of two colleges in Cambridge, and of several lectures there,) Erasmus, the Lord Keeper Bacon, and Sir Thomas More: and in his study, his father's arms, and his father's picture, which was given him by his said father. The whole householdstuff there was valued at 64*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* And this was the plentiful and creditable estate, in which

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the Archbishop's son and heir lived many years after his father's death.

Anno 1575. Matthew's son and heir of Sir John Parker.

But to bring down the Archbishop's posterity to later times, Sir John Parker's son and heir was Matthew Parker, Esq. as was told before; who lived till within memory, dying in the year 1645, being aged within five years of eighty.

His marriage.

Being pretty aged, he married Margaret the daughter and coheir of Jenkins, being near twenty years older than she. He lived many years in Sittingburn in Kent, where he died; and in the chancel of that church, under the communion table, his body was laid. He was commonly called Captain Parker, being Captain of the bulwark of Dover Castle. Whether I speak proper or no, I cannot tell: but so I was told by an ancient man now or lately living in Sittingburn, who knew him well. He was of good repute and estimation, and built an house in the said town, wherein he lived, and had an estate there of about 30*l.* a year. By his said wife he had issue two daughters, Frances and Elizabeth, and one son, that bore the name of John after his grandfather. His daughter Frances was the only survivor; who was married to John Collins, Esq. which John, of a good report for religion, loyalty, charity, and honesty, lived, as it seems, at Sittingburn also, being there buried near his father-in-law. By her the said Collins had issue five children, whereof one son and daughter survived. The son is still, or lately was, living in Surry, enjoying the estate in Sittingburn. The daughter Frances married to Robert Heath, Esq. She laid a decent stone upon her father, buried in the said church, as before was mentioned.

And posterity.

Matthew's wife dies.

Matthew's wife survived him seven years, being aged sixty-six, and was buried by his side: he and she being covered with two plain stones. And a memorial of both of them is more lately set up on the south wall of the chancel: which is this that ensueth;

Their memorial in Sittingburn church.

"Near this place, as appeareth on a stone, lieth the body "of Matthew Parker, Esquire, son and heir of Sir John "Parker, the eldest son of the right reverend Father in "God Dr. Matthew Parker, Lord Archbishop of Canter-

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" bury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; interred
" the 14th day of May 1645. Aged 75 years. Adjoining
" to him, as appeareth on a stone, lieth the body of Mar-
" garet, wife of Matthew Parker deceased, daughter and
" coheir of Roger Jenkins, Gentleman; interred the 11th
" day of June, 1652. Aged 66 years. And had by the
" said Matthew, Frances, Elizabeth, and John; all deceased
" without issue. Only Frances had five children. Where-517
" of at her decease she left only one son and one daughter."
Over is painted this coat of arms: parted per pale, baron and femme, the coat of Parker, quartered with the coat of Cox, being three cocks gules; and the coat of Jenkins, being sable, a lion passant gardant, or, with his tail coming under his legs and turning over his back.

Collins's monument.

Collins, who married the heir of the family, lieth under a marble stone in the chancel, with this inscription:

J. Collins Armiger Dom. Matthæi Parkeri proxime hic sepulti Gener post vitam, constantiâ in religione Protestantium, fidelitate in Regem, charitate in proximos, probitate in omnes insignis, debito Naturæ 14. *die Julii, A. D.* 1665. *ætat. suæ* 62. *soluto, hîc posuit* τῆς θνησίας λείψανα. *Cujus memoriæ sacrum hoc D. D. Francisca ejus Filia, Roberti Heath Armigeri Uxor.* The coat of arms here engraven is, within a bordure ermin a bend, charged with three martlets, an inescutcheon of the arms of Parker and Jenkins.

Matthew, the Archbishop's second son.

Under the year 1574, we took notice of the Archbishop's second son, Matthew, who died before his father in the said year, and left a posthumous son, that died within some months. His widow Frances was the daughter of a Bishop, as his elder brother's wife was, an exemplary woman for piety and goodness. Who and what she was, and how she spent her life afterwards, the inscription upon her monument in the church of York will shew; *viz.*

FRANCES MATTHEW.

His wife and widow.

First married to Matthew Parker, son to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, afterward to Toby Matthew,

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that famous Archbishop of this see. She was a woman of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, beauty, and indeed all other virtues, not only above her sex, but the times. One exemplary act of hers (first devised upon this Church, and through it flowing upon the country) deserves to live as long as the Church itself. The library of the deceased Archbishop, consisting of above three thousand books, she gave intire to the public use of this church. A rare example, that so great care to advance learning should lodge in a woman's breast. But it was the less wonder in her, because herself was of kin to so much learning. She was the daughter of William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, in Henry the VIIIth's time Ambassador into Scotland: of the ancient family of the Barlows in Wales. She had four sisters, married to four Bishops. One to William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester: another to Overton, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield: a third to Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford: a fourth to Day, that succeeded Wickham in Winchester. So that a Bishop was her father, an Archbishop her father-in-law: she had four Bishops her brethren, and an Archbishop her husband. When she had lived seventy-eight years, the 10th of May, she changed this life, as full of honour as of days, anno Domini 1629.

She lived one year after the Archbishop her husband, who departed March the 29th, 1628, as appears by his monument.

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CHAP. XLVII.

The Archbishop's benefactions; to the University of Cambridge; and to several colleges there; viz. *Caius college; Trinity hall: but especially to Corpus Christi. Bequeathed them his library and MSS. Some account of them. His gifts to Norwich, to Canterbury, to Lambeth, to Croydon: and his service to the Church.*

NOW at length let us look into this our Archbishop's large and generous gifts and charities: some given and disposed by himself in his lifetime, and some bequeathed by his will: that this good Prelate dying in the Lord, his works may follow him. Anno 1575. The Archbishop's gifts.

To the library of the University of Cambridge he gave an hundred books, that is to say, fifty books printed and fifty MSS. These consisting chiefly of history, as the former fifty of comments upon the Old Testament and the New. The names of all which to recite here would be too large; they are set down in that edition of the British Antiquities that hath the life of our Archbishop among the additions. And it was by the Archbishop's means and incitement, that Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, gave many books more to the library. And by the same Archbishop's motion, Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of the same University, gave to it many more, both Latin and Greek, concerning the canon and civil law, and physic. And so also did the Bishops of Winton and Durham: as hath been shewed before under the year 1574. 518 To the University.

And here let me insert some of his other good deserts towards that University. He obtained of the executors of Mr. Mere, late Beadle of the University, 40*l.* of his goods, not yet distributed, for the reparation of the common Schools, greatly fallen then into decay, and wanting both lead, timber, and roofing. And he committed the care and inspection thereof to John Pory, D. D. Which the said Pory honestly performed, and brought in an account of the expenses of the whole; which amounted to 55*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* So that the Benefits done by him thereunto. MSS. Jo. D. Ep. Elien. N°. 757.

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charge exceeded the gift by 15*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* Which the Archbishop, out of his affection to the University, freely made up out of his own purse.

He also procured, that the bridge and highway joining to Butcher's Close in the town of Newenham, was again newly repaired, out of the goods of the said Beadle Mere; as before the said bridge and way had been by his means, out of the goods of one John Thomas, a French chirurgeon. Whose goods, dying intestate, came to the disposition of Dr. Parker, then being in the office of Vice-Chancellor.

And lastly, many other scholars and students received liberal gifts out of the said Mere's estate from the executors, by his direction.

To Bene't college.

To Bene't college, his nurse, besides many printed books, he gave his choice and invaluable MSS. which are preserved in the little library to this day. Whereof there is a printed catalogue extant, but not so exact as might be wished. But both those books and these MSS. being somewhat singular, may deserve some more particular account to be given of them.

Printed books.

The printed books that were bestowed in the common library of the college were of all sorts of sciences, but especially of divinity: which were digested into these ranks. I. *Biblia*, Bibles of divers sorts and languages. II. *Theologica primæ ætatis:* under which were contained the ancient Fathers and ecclesiastical writers: and some of them singular for their very old editions; as *Quinquagen. Theophylacti*, printed 1493; *Cassiodorus in Psalmos*, printed 1491. III. *Theologica mediæ ætatis.* IV. *Theologica postremæ ætatis.* Here came in the controversial books of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: the first in this rank is *Sacramentalia Tho. Walden.* Then, V. follow another rank of books, entitled, *Concionatoria;* consisting of homilies and sermons, some printed 1484, 1485, 1487, and 1498. Then, VI. another rank, entitled, *Formulæ Ceremoniarum.* Next, VII. *Germanica:* consisting of Lutheran writers, as Pellican, Luther, Brentius, &c. To these also are joined Calvinistical books, written by Marlorat, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Bucer, Calvin, Gualter, Musculus, &c.

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Also hither are brought *Responsio Cranmeri*; *Catalogus Test. Veritatis*; *Historia Martyrum per Foxum*, &c. After these theological books, VIII. another rank is entitled *Historica*: containing the historians, ancient and modern. IX. *Juridica*. X. *Medica*. XI. *Chirurgica*. XII. *Philosophica*. XIII. *Ethica*. XIV. *Physica*. XV. *Metaphysica*. XVI. *Alchymistica*. XVII. *Mathematica*. XVIII. *Rhetorica*. XIX. *Grammatica*. XX. *Poetica*. XXI. *Miscellanea*, make other distinct ranks.

CHAP. XLVII.

Anno 1575.

In another room, called the *lesser library*, were a great many more of the Archbishop's books reposited, bequeathed by him to the library: many of them printed, but most MSS. which make that college library famous over the world. A parcel of these books, which lie on the uppermost shelf, be distinguished by numbers, as 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. Among these, under the first number, is *Expositio Psalterii Jo. de Turrecremata*; and, *Defensio Curatorum contra Mendicantes*, in one volume. N°. 2. contains John Colet upon the Epistle to the Romans. N°. 3. *Expositio Psalmi* 72. *ad D. Cranmerum*; beginning, *Reverendissimo*, with other tracts: among the rest, *Tonstal contra Blasphematores*; *Jo. Redman, de Justificatione*, bound together, printed 1555. Also, *De Differentia Potestatis Regiæ*, &c. a great state-book in Henry VIIIth's time, &c. printed 1534. and *Petrus non fuit Romæ*, printed 1522. N°. 6. *De Potestate Papæ et Concilii*, printed 1536. another state-book. N°. 11. *Rhetorica nova, impressa Cantab.* printed 1478. So ancient, it seems, was printing in Cambridge. N°. 17. contains English books: *Statuta prima Angliæ*; *Injunctions of Edward VI.* 1547; *The Inquisition of Spain*, 1569; Pieces of Melancthon about laws; Bucer, Martyr, and Bullinger about things *indifferent*; Saxon homilies. Several other ranks of books there be distinguished, as they stand upon several shelves.

MS. books.

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There be also divers miscellaneous written volumes, distinguished by the letters of the alphabet: as, *Miscellanea* A, *Miscellanea* B, &c. unto U. These MSS. are partly original letters, and partly tracts and discourses of divers sub-

MSS. miscellaneous.

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BOOK IV. Anno 1575.

jects, chiefly in order to the first reformation of religion. For example, among the miscellanies A, besides letters of Martin Bucer and others, are these matters discoursed: *De altaribus demoliendis. An simplex recitatio verborum Domini in Cœnæ celebratione sit necessaria? Res ecclesiasticæ non debent ad profanos usus transferri: nec Episcopis debet consentire. An sit simoniacum, aliquid exigere à Prebendario? Quatenus ad Magistratus civiles spectat Reformatio. An liceat Sacerdoti ducere uxorem post Ordines? Episcoporum non Laicorum, in rebus divinis judicium sequendum.* Among the miscellanies B is a discourse entitled, *Defensio Reformationis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* Beside many other cases and arguments, seasonable in those times. Each miscellaneous volume throughout the alphabet contains great variety of letters, tracts, disputations, cases, sermons, speeches, statutes, histories, foundations of colleges and hospitals, epitaphs, apologies, and innumerable other things, of great use for letting in light into those times, especially in respect of religion.

Other miscellaneous MSS.

There was also, besides these *miscellanies*, another set of MS. volumes, marked by the letters of the alphabet to D inclusive. Under the volume A were *Epistolæ principum, clarorum et bonorum hominum.* Here are found letters of Queen Katharine and Queen Elizabeth, Councils' letters, letters of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. Under B are *Epistolæ virorum illustrium, et Germanorum.* Among these are found letters of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. Charles V. Anne Bolen, &c. Also of Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Calvin, and many other men of prime remark. And likewise of English Bishops and Doctors; as Cranmer, Gardiner, Boner, Latymer, Skyp, Goodrick, &c. The volume C is entitled *Synodalia;* and hath admirable collections, and many relating to our Synods in the reigns of King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. To specify a few, viz. *Forma Convocationis.* The Convocation anno 1547. *Decreta Convocationis* 1555. *Constitutiones Legantinæ:* A Declaration of the Protestants: *Articuli in Synodo London:* Certain Articles for Reforma-

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tion, &c. The volume D is entitled *Certificatorium quarundam Diocesium*. It contains various rolls of the state of the dioceses of the province, which came to the Archbishop, partly by virtue of the Council's letters to the Bishops, to certify concerning their dioceses, and partly by his own metropolitical visitations.

Yet more.

There is still another volume, entitled, *Quæ concurrunt* [*concernunt* perhaps] *Thomam Cranmerum*. It contains the libels and accusations of several of the Prebendaries of the church of Canterbury, against the said Archbishop Cranmer, in the time of King Henry, and their submissions to him, for what they had maliciously done. And another entitled, *Quæ concurrunt Stephanum Gardinerum*. And yet another volume of Common Places, by Thomas Cranmer; first and second tome. And other Common Places by Bucer, and others by Barret. To such as are minded to search into the affairs of those times, the pleasure and profit of these papers is incredible, and the treasure there inexhaustible. And by them also appears the infinite industry and curiosity of our Prelate; and how he consulted the leaving of these useful matters to late posterity.

Other gifts to Bene't college.

Besides these books and MSS. to the said college, he also gave the perpetual patronage of St. Mary Abchurch, London: also in plate to the value of 103*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* For a common fire in the hall yearly, for ever, 100*l.* For the augmentation of their commons, &c. 500*l.* His executors were to prepare the chamber in the college, called the *Storehouse*, for three other, his scholars, to abide in, who were to be allowed yearly 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* apiece. To which end he gave 10*l.* per annum. For which purpose there was an in- 520
denture, whereby John Parker, executor to Matthew, late Archbishop of Canterbury, according to his father's will, covenanted to settle 10*l.* per annum, or to pay 200*l.* to the Master and Fellows of Bene't, for maintaining three scholars, dated Aug. 7. anno Eliz. 20. at Bene't college. These scholars were to be elected from the schools in Canterbury, Norwich, Aylsham and Wimundham, and to be born there.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1575. His good offices done this college. Recovers plate to the college. MSS. Jo. D. Ep. Elien. No. 757.

But besides these gifts, the Archbishop did many other good offices for this college. Some of them follow: Laurence Maptit, S. Th. B. the fifteenth Master of the college, determined to give to it some plate. And a little after being chosen Master, he caused to be made one basin and ewer in silver for the same college; but gave it not actually in his lifetime. Being dead, John Maptit, his nephew and executor, denied that his uncle left it to the college, on this pretence, that he found this, with other chased plate, among his said uncle's proper goods, and that he never heard he ever intended any such gift to the college. Whereupon the Master and Fellows despaired ever of recovering it. Under which difficulty Dr. Parker, who was Master of the college, (whom the said Laurence succeeded,) did often press the said executor to make good this his uncle's gift. But afterwards, when he was Archbishop, he compelled the said executor to give an account of the execution of his said uncle's will, having a little before proved his will in the Prerogative Court. And by this means the basin and ewer was obtained to the college. And thenceforth he was discharged in his accounts, and obtained his *quietus est*. And because these pieces of plate were more convenient for the Archbishop than the college, he bought them of the Fellows of the college for 18*l*. For which he had a discharge under the hand of John Pory, D. D. Master of the college; together with another writing under his hand, importing his receipt of 5*l*. more from the said Archbishop, for a salt-seller gilt with a cover: which had been some time alienated from the college, and recovered by the said Archbishop's industry.

Obtains the release of pensions due to the Crown.

Further, a certain portion of the tithes of Grantcester, near Cambridge, belonging to the monastery of St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, at the dissolution came to the Crown. This portion was farmed by Bene't college at 26*s*. 8*d*. yearly. Which the college paid for some time to the Crown; but afterwards, by Archbishop Parker's means, it was derived upon their farmer to pay it, to whom they demised

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that portion. Which portion contained more than the half part of the tithes of the whole town of Grantcester. Which the Archbishop saw, if some persons coming to hear thereof should obtain from the Prince, it would be to the ruin of the college's farm, as to that rectory. Of this the careful Archbishop, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was very solicitous; and yielded himself at this time, by his help and counsel, such a friend to the college, for the obtaining of that portion to the house for ever, that at length that yearly payment of 26*s.* 8*d.* was converted to the use of the college, to be paid by the farmer to them. And besides, the whole farm of the rectory of Grantcester was confirmed to the college: so that it was not of less value, but rather of more than it was before. The purchase of which portion, together with another annual pension of 11*s.* 6*d.* payable to the Prince out of the dissolved priory of Hatfield Brodoak, amounted to the sum of 51*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* as appeared by the Queen's letters patents, dated the 17th of April, in the fourth year of her reign. And in the same letters patents, by procurement of the said Archbishop, three tenements in the city of Westminster were ratified and confirmed to the college for ever.

Anno 1575.

And 80*l.* more.

Again, To his said college he procured the sum of 80*l.* partly his own, and partly given by other benefactors, and partly allowed out of the goods of Mr. John Mere, sometime beadle of the University. Of whose will Parker was one of the overseers. Which sum of money was laid out upon an indenture of a certain mill in Fen Ditton, demised to the college from the Bishop of Ely, for these uses; partly for enlarging the Scholars' commons, partly for certain alms towards the poor in the town and elsewhere, and for some other pious uses expressed in the said indenture. But when this demise of the said mill was at the earnest prayer of the farmer discharged, the said money for the most part, being intended for the use of the college, was laid out upon four small tenements, situate in Wallis-lane, in the parish of the Holy Trinity. And it was decreed, that from the yearly rent of the said houses, one Scholar should 521

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BOOK IV.

be perpetually maintained; and should be always called, *John Mere the Beadle's Scholar.*

Anno 1575. He procured a new coat of arms for the college;

Indeed the Archbishop did so much service to this college, that he was a kind of founder to it. He caused among other things the coat of arms of the college to be altered. In the bearing whereof are the pelicans, as bearing a suitable signification to Corpus Christi, that gave name to the college; that as the pelican is said to feed her young ones with her blood, so Christ feeds his people with his body and blood. And to explain this, I find in the book called *Historiola*, there is writ on the cover of the inside a passage of Hierom, epist. 32. *Pellicani cum suos à serpente filios occisos inveniunt, lugent, et se et sua latera percutiunt, et sanguine excusso ad corpora mortuorum, sic reviviscunt. Idem fecit Christus. Johan.* iii. *Sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem.* This is writ by the Archbishop himself. Underneath is this writ that follows, by the hand of the Archbishop's secretary, perhaps by his order, quoting another place out of the same St. Hierom. *In Regula Monachor.* And another from St. Augustin. *Dicunt matrem seipsam graviter vulnerare, et sanguinem suum super filios fundere. Quo illi superfusi reviviscunt. Congruit Christo, quod matris caro reviviscat sanguine suo filios suos,* &c. *Habet ergo hæc avis magnam similitudinem carnis Christi; cujus sanguine vivificati sumus. Augustin. in Psalm.* ci. He caused also an history to be writ concerning this college, the foundation, the masters, and other matters relating thereunto; and more at large of himself and his government, and good deserts there. This book reacheth to the year 1569, and hath this title, *Historia de Fundatione et Statu Collegii Corpor. Christi;* called also *Historiola*, a book in MS. yet remaining in the college. It was written, as it seems, by Joscelyn, his learned secretary, and reviewed by himself; for I find therein some interlinings of the Archbishop's own pen. Therein it is writ, in reference to what was said above, "that the Archbishop, being moved with an honest zeal to "the honour of the college, perceiving the old arms of the "college of Corpus Christi gave offence to some persons in

And an history of that college to be written.

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"his time, at his own cost and charges obtained of the "heralds a new coat of arms: which was to express the in-"estimable love of Christ to his elect, declared by the shed-"ding of his precious blood. Yet quartering the old arms of "the blessed Virgin, *viz.* the lilies, denoting her perpetual "virginity; with this intent, that the style and corporation, "wherein the said college was at first erected and founded, "might be perpetually preserved; it being called, *Collegium* "*Corporis Christi et Beatæ Virginis.*" The founders being two guilds, called the guild of Corpus Christi, and the guild of St. Mary and St. Benedict: governed by the Duke of Lancaster, who was entitled, *the Alderman of the guild*, and the rest of the corporation called *Confratres Gildæ Corporis Christi et Beatæ Mariæ Cantabrigiæ.* They obtained from King Edward III. leave to build a college for students; which should consist of a Master, or *Custos*, eight Fellows or Scholars, [but at first it was only two Fellows or Scholars,] two *Bibliotistæ*, or Bible Clerks, six poor Scholars, a baker, a steward, a caterer, and two cooks: gratitude would not permit these founders to be forgotten; which the retaining of the old arms would prevent.

The patent of the new arms.

In the patent granted by Clarencieux for this new bearing, Archbishop Parker is mentioned to be the procurer of the same in these words; *Monente tamen ratione probabili, itemque procurante et postulante reverendissimo in Christo Patre Matthæo, Cantuarien. Archiepiscopo, &c. mihi prædicto Clarencieux visum est eadem partim innovare, partim sequente ordine per singulas quartas scuti partes approbari.* And then the quarterly bearing follows; *viz.* The first quarter gules, a pelican with her young ones lying in their nest, argent. The second quarter azure, three lilies, argent. The third as the second; the fourth as the first. This patent bore date at London, 23d Dec. 18 Eliz. 1570. Under the coat is this distich, according to the fancy, I suppose, of the Archbishop:

Signat avis Christum, qui sanguine pascit alumnos:
Lilia Virgo parens intemerata refert.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1575. To Caius college.

To Caius college he gave a silver cup with a cover, gilt, in a leather case, weighing 40 ounces: one pot gilt, with a cover, of 15 ounces and a half: three gilt pots with a cover, formerly given him by the Queen: and twenty-six books.

522 To Trinity hall.

To Trinity hall he gave also one silver cup, in a leather case, weighing 37 ounces: one pot of 15 ounces and upwards. Also to the same college, for the society of the Doctors of the Arches, London, one basin and ewer gilt, of 70 ounces; with three pots and one cover, lately given him by the Queen: and twenty-six books. But for a full account of the Archbishop's gifts to these colleges, until the year 1571, I refer the reader to an instrument signed by their common seals in testimony thereof for ever; exemplified in the Appendix. N°. CV.

To the city of Norwich.

To the city of Norwich, where he was born, in token of his good-will to them, he gave a basin and ewer double gilt, weighing 175 ounces. And 50*s.* being a yearly revenue, to be divided among the poor people of that city: and six sermons yearly to be preached in five churches in Norfolk in Rogation-week.

To the city of Canterbury.

To the city of Canterbury he gave 100*l.* for to be lent to the poor, to set them on work in the woollen manufacture.

To the poor. What he did at Lambeth.

To the poor in Lambeth and Croydon he bequeathed 30*l.* What more he did for these two places, where he had palaces, I am yet to learn. Only it is said that he built much at Lambeth, but the particulars I know not, any further than what is related under the year 1571. To the library I conclude he was a benefactor; because among the MSS. there, there be some wherein are notes of his own hand. N°. 221. And particularly there is a MS. volume in folio, partly historical concerning this kingdom, with relation to the Pope's usurpations. In a page whereof is writ by the Archbishop with red lead, *contra provisiones Papæ. De quo Edicto queritur Papa infra: sed frustra.* This was about the year 1335. Throughout this book are numbered in red lead the pages by the Archbishop's hand. For he often made use of a red lead pen. Another part of this volume relates the disputations at Oxford, Tho. Rodburne Major

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being father. And at the top of the page are these words set by the Archbishop, *Forma disputationis in Scholis publicis:* and at the bottom these words by the same hand; *Pater in hiis comitiis (et sequentibus in fine) erat Thomas Rodeburne, qui in tempore Regis Henr. IV. erat Vicecustos collegii de Marten, Oxon. et Regis Henr. V. Custos erat, et Capellanus Henrici Regis sexti; tandem Episcopus Menevensis, qui Chronicon scripsit, Dictus est Major; ubi alius Thomas Rodeburne, Monachus Winton.* In another place is writ by the said Archbishop, *Sermones Examinatorii Oxonienses.* And in another, *Oratio solennis in extollendo Academiam.* In the bottom of a page in this volume we read *Lumley*, it having, I suppose, been one of that Lord's books, and bestowed upon the Archbishop. His Grace was very exact in the knowledge of the state and customs of the Universities. Which appears from this his diligent perusal of this ancient book concerning the exercises of Oxford. But the constitution of Cambridge, his University, none knew so well as he. There is among the MSS. of Bene't college a great volume of ancient papers, instruments, orders, institutions, and other miscellaneous matters, belonging to the said University; which he collected together into a volume, entitled, *Miscellanea Cantabrig.* At the beginning of which he wrote with his own hand, *Hic liber sic consarcinatus est in gratiam eorum qui posthac vel Procancellarii vel Procuratores vel Taxatores futuri sint in colleg. Corp. Christi Cant. ut ex rebus gestis ipsi aliquid judicent.* But this is digression.

His knowledge of the Universities.

While we are speaking of Archbishop Parker's gifts and charities, under this rank must be put his great endeavours for preserving and continuing and providing good order for the hospitals in Canterbury, Eastbridge, Harboldown, and that of the poor Priests. Of the two former I have said somewhat before; of the last it may suffice to say, that it was founded by Simon Langton, Archdeacon of Canterbury, brother to Stephen Langton the Archbishop, about the year 1240, and was intended for a place of suc-

His care of certain hospitals.

Hospitals of poor priests. Sumner's Ant. p. 136.

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BOOK IV.

Anno 1575.

cour to poor Priests, to Chaplains, Curates, and other like unbeneficed Clerks; chiefly those that by ignorance or other infirmity were disabled from performing any longer their function. This hospital escaped clear the general dissolution, being unsuppressed. In Queen Mary's days, in the year 1554, one Hugh Barret was master of it, and had the rectory of St. Margaret's conferred upon him, a rectory that anciently belonged to it: and was presented to this house by Nic. Harpsfeld, Archdeacon. In the 17th of Queen Elizabeth, and not before, this hospital was dissolved, being surrendered to her Majesty, May the 4th, by Blaze Winter, Clerk, the Master, Edmund Freke being patron, and
523 our Archbishop the Ordinary, who lived but little longer, dying May 17. But before his death he seems to have made a fair way for the obtaining of it again from the Queen; who granted it to the city, July 5. To which it hath ever since belonged, and is called Bridewell Hospital, being an house of correction, and an hospital for a certain number of boys, poor townsmen's children, kept there. The royal grant whereof is exemplified by Sumner in his Antiquities. Mainard's Spital also in Canterbury is thought to have been preserved for the use of the poor by the Archbishop's means.

Append. Scriptura septima.

Founds a school in Rochdale.

To all add, that he founded a grammar-school at Rochdale in Lancashire, where there were some revenues belonging to the archbishopric; that he might make provision against the great ignorance that in those times reigned in the parts thereabout. And lastly, to the parish of Matsal, where his wife was born, he gave fifty shillings yearly for ever to be distributed to the poor; and gave to the said town a sermon in Rogation-week.

His gift to Matsal.

All these charitable, bountiful, and generous acts both in his life and at his death, made his estate, that was to descend to his posterity, sink considerably. But he was never of that mind to scrape together to leave great possessions to children, to be temptations to them. Which he expressed in these words once to his friend and countryman, Sir Nic.

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Anno 1575.

Bacon; "As for such few folks which I may leave behind "me, they shall not say by me, I trust, Happy be those "children whose fathers go to the Devil."

His good deserts towards the Church.

Under this rank of his benefactions we must place the good deeds he did to God's Church. The service he did it by his high ministry and conduct therein was very considerable, and the more, considering the great discouragements and oppositions he met with. By his influence, pains, and study, the true religion was established in orthodox doctrine and decent worship, after it had been overthrown under Queen Mary. The Church was reduced to a good constitution and government: the dioceses furnished with good protestant, conscientious, careful Bishops; and the people generally became professors of the Gospel in the sincere profession of it, and Popery wore away apace, except in the distant corners of the kingdom: the Universities became purged from superstition and superstitious men: the numbers of preachers greatly increased, and the cathedral churches were supplied with learned men. And much more good had this painful Prelate done, were it not for the impediments and obstacles which murmurers, and the Geneva-disciplinarians, and some great men of the Court, cast in his way. Whereof we have heard what frequent complaints he made in the bosom of Cecyl, his friend.

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON

THIS ARCHBISHOP

SECT. I.

The Archbishop a man of courage. His modesty. Unmoveable. His judgment.

AND thus at length I have contributed something to the rescuing from oblivion a great many things concerning Archbishop Parker. Which may serve, not only to adorn his memory, but to discover and bring to light many passages of our ecclesiastical history, almost utterly lost. I leave others to make their observations, contenting myself with having related the matters of fact. Yet I cannot but take notice of some things that were of more peculiar remark in this most reverend man: which may serve as a brief character and representation of him. And they are such as relate either to his natural temper, and virtuous qualities, his learning, or high place in the British Church. Observations.

He was a man of stomach, and in a good cause feared nobody: no, not the greatest man, when he had right on his side, or in the distribution of justice, and discharge of his conscience. Which made him often struggle with great courtiers, and sometimes even with the Queen herself: as in the case of Wood, Fellow of All Souls, and Clark, Dean of the Arches. And because he wanted a complying, flattering, complaisant temper and carriage, he procured to himself many powerful enemies; and especially the great Earl of Leicester, who constantly opposed all the good motions he made to the Queen; and particularly for promoting worthy men to the bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical A man of stomach. Leicester his great enemy.

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BOOK IV.

preferments, and for the granting him leave to repair and enlarge Bekesborn: which might otherwise have shewn itself a very fair and noble structure, and remained as one of the monuments of his liberality to posterity. When the Lord Treasurer had signified to him privately, how fierce an enemy the aforesaid nobleman was to him, and sought to make him truckle, or ruin him, he said, "He cared not "for him, but he would honour him, as he would and "ought to do any others that were the Queen's great mi-"nisters." Whether it were his stomach or his prudence, I leave it to the judgment of others, that he would not go to wait upon the Queen, being at Leicester's house; which he ought to have done. For once, after her return from her progress, in November 1574, when according to his custom and duty he should have welcomed her home, he deferred the doing of it, whilst she tarried at that Earl's house; which was not far from Hampton Court. For he was in doubt, whether he should offer himself to her there, as he signified to the Treasurer; and at last resolved to let it alone till she arrived at her own Court, where she was to be that week.

The Archbishop's fair and christian behaviour towards him.

Yet he was so gentle to this his enemy, as when the Queen came in progress to Canterbury, where the Archbishop most nobly entertained her, Leicester was one of the three, to whom he sent invitations to take up one of the
525 lodgings at his house; the Lord Treasurer, and Hatton, the Master of her Horse, being the other two. And at another time he was so Christian spirited, as upon some great offence the Earl had taken against him, to write a mild letter to him, to pacify the said Earl, and justify himself: though in a high disdain, he took the letter from the messenger's hands, and put it into his pocket without so much as reading it. Which contempt might justly be resented by him, being a person of such high dignity and honour as that of an Archbishop of Canterbury.

The inconveniences arising from his roughness.

Though, it may be, he may be censured by some for his too much roughness and want of courtship, which partly occasioned the loss of that interest at Court, which might

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have served him to have done many good offices to the Church and worthy men, more than he did, and which he was minded to do. And it is not improbable, that the countenance which the Puritans met with at Court from Leicester, was not so much out of love to them and their cause, (for he had but little of religion in him,) as out of hatred and opposition to the Archbishop.

His suits to the Queen often denied. Why.

He did sometimes, though not often, put up suits to the Queen for himself or his friends; and he expected from her hands the grants thereof, not only because he was her Archbishop, but upon more special obligations to him, as having been Chaplain to Queen Anne, her Majesty's mother, and much esteemed by her: and upon whom he waited in her imprisonment, and at, or not long before, her death, and did some of the last spiritual offices for her; when she gave him a certain charge concerning her daughter, Lady Elizabeth. Which he mentioned in one of his letters, saying, "that he had cause to wish well to her Majesty, not only because she was his prince, but for the last words her Majesty's mother spake to him concerning her." Which might be to this effect, that he would, for her sake, instruct her in true religion, and keep her tight to the reformed profession thereof. This made him, I say, expect some peculiar countenance and favour from her. But now that he enjoyed it no more in the obtainment of his suits, made sometimes some uneasy resentments within him. But the blame must not lie so much upon the Queen, as the Earl, always at her elbow, who, by his stories and objections, buzzed into her ears against the Archbishop and his requests, stopped her from yielding her consent. Hence he sometimes took notice, how much more unkind the Court was to him, than to his predecessors: and once told the Lord Treasurer in some discontent, "that he was so unlucky and unfortunate to win any thing for himself or his friends, that he would hereafter crave little, as he had not much used importunity in such cases for a dozen years past:" [that is, almost ever since he was Archbishop, for this was spoken in the year 1572.] "although most

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"of his predecessors, he said, had things of more importance granted them, by the prince's favour, in their times. "But he added, he would hold himself within his bounds, "and take the times as they were, and would yet do his "duty in conscience, and serve to his utmost power, till "the day of his dissolution." But all this unsuccessfulness must in a great measure be attributed to his bluntness and stoutness of humour, and the want, or the wilful neglect, of making his court well.

Very bashful, even when Archbishop.

He had a natural modesty to that degree, that it degenerated into shamefacedness, and that even when he was Archbishop; having also a very mean conceit of himself and his abilities: which was one of the reasons that made him hang off so much from entering upon that high function he was called to, and take it at last so exceeding unwillingly upon him. And though he were advanced to such a dignity, yet it could not cure that *natural vitiosity* of overmuch shamefacedness, as he styled it himself. And hence it was, that he commonly used but little speech in public, especially in honourable audiences; which he called his own *cowardliness*. And of this he was so sensible, that it created many uneasy thoughts to him, and made him pass his life in heaviness; as reckoning himself upon this account not so well qualified for this high office in the Church, as he ought to have been. That which gave occasion to this bashfulness, or at least to the increase of it, was the hardships he met with in Queen Mary's days, and the passing those hard years in obscurity without all conference, or such manner of study, as afterwards might do him service.

His sensibleness of it.

526 This made him studiously decline, as much as he could, all communication with foreigners, especially of another religion. Where he should be forced to discourse with some who were of a quicker elocution, or better versed in matters of state, and transactions in foreign parts; which were things much out of his way. And so in his discourse might not answer those expectations that were had of him. Hence he once secretly applied himself to Sir William Cecyl, the

Cared not for converse with foreigners; and why.

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Queen's Secretary, to decline from him any such opportunities: telling him, "that he could not raise up his heart "and stomach to utter that in talk, which with his pen he "could express indifferently, without great difficulty. And "that he was so ill acquainted with strangers, both in their "manner of utterance of their speech, and also in such "foreign affairs, that he could not win himself any ways to "satisfy his fancy in such kind of entertainments. Whereupon he required of him of all love, as he expressed "it, to shadow his cowardness, till better might be. He "added, that as for the ordering, overseeing, and compassing common matters ecclesiastical in synod or out of "it, among his acquainted familiar brethren, he doubted "not, but with God's grace, and help of counsel, to serve "somewhat that turn within the realm; and there his stomach would stand by him," [and so it appeared it did,] "to do so far as those *exulceratissima tempora* would suffer, or the unruly affections of men could be won. But if "they drove him out of this course, wherein he had only "been brought up, as traded in a little experience of "smaller matters in the University, they would drive him "utterly out of conceit, and then he could do nothing."

How he offered to confer with a Spanish Bishop that seemed to desire it.

And all this laying open himself to the Secretary was but introductory to somewhat else; namely, to divert a meeting with the Bishop of Aquila, the Spanish Ambassador, a bold and pragmatical man, and a great zealot for the Pope and his religion. It seems he had some talk with the Secretary about religion, and concerning the change therein that had been made in this realm, contrary, as he pretended to maintain, to the judgment of ancient Church authors; and desiring a conference with the Archbishop, or some other of our divines. This the Secretary signified to the Archbishop. The Archbishop answered, that it were well he were satisfied. And whereas the said Aquila had thought it might be sinisterly taken, either for the Archbishop to go to him, or for him to go to the Archbishop; in this, the Archbishop said, he judged prudently. But that Bishop seemed to conclude upon it as a good way for them both to meet at

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the Secretary's. This also the Archbishop disliked, as neither good for his fame nor the Archbishop's; saying, "it "would be construed strangely among the light brethren "in divers respects. Furthermore, he said, that that Bi-"shop would come *præmeditatus*, and he *tanquam novus* "*hospes*, to the matter, unprepared; and so the match "more unequal." Besides, that his books should not be nigh to him, to avouch authority, where it should need. Therefore, for the solving of his modesty, as well as preventing these inconveniences, he propounded to the Secretary to confer with him by writing: "wherein he would be "ready, he said, to answer him *candidè et succinctè*. And this "way his stomach and audacity, he said, would serve him: "doubting not by God's help, but to answer him reason-"ably with his own authority, for any alteration in the re-"ligion established in the realm." And to avoid any suspicion that might remain upon that Bishop among his own, the Archbishop wished, that in the end of their conference the originals of his writings should be remitted to him again: and that none might know of their conference, but the Secretary himself, who should be *honorarius judex* between them. The whole letter, out of which these aforesaid matters are extracted, is without date or name, but all of the Archbishop's own hand: and for the greater secrecy, he desired the Secretary not to lay it by among his other papers, but to burn it. Yet I think there is nothing in it that betrays the Archbishop's weakness, but rather his prudence and great modesty. And therefore I have ventured to expose it to public view in the Appendix.

N°. CVI.

Another instance of his modesty.

I cannot omit here another instance of his modesty. Which appeared in that mean conceit he had of that most elaborate and useful piece of his, of the British Antiquities. Which when he had finished and printed for his own use, he kept all the sheets within his own hands, dispersing hardly any one copy. And when after some space he sent the Lord Burghley one, he communicated it
527 to him, as a judge thereof; saying, that according to his opinion it should stand or fall. He resolved to suppress it

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as long as he lived, and was inclinable to stifle it wholly; because he feared it might be looked upon as an ambitious fancy of his. He told the before-mentioned Lord, when he sent this book to him, that he might note many vanities in it; as he modestly called those coats of arms of the episcopal sees, and of the respective Bishops thereof, painted well in colours, with which he had adorned it. He added, that it would be no great grief to him, if that Lord would cast it into the fire: for that it was but the effect of his folly, thus *equitare in arundine longa*.

His unmoveableness in the distribution of justice.

In his distribution of justice he was unmoveable, not to be biassed any way from doing right, nor for any solicitations, as was hinted before. Besides the various instances thereof in the past pages of this Archbishop's memorials, I will here add one more. Whereby may appear, that though he were just, yet not so rigorous, but that he could moderate and temper his sentence upon reasonable occasions. In the year 1570, one Sir Henry Lee had some business in his Courts; and in his favour the Queen wrote to the Archbishop; and the Secretary followed in the same request. A very difficult case to deny both these, and dangerous to disoblige them. But the Archbishop found an expedient, which he would probably have made use of without any intercessions, *viz.* that though the rigour of law went against Lee, yet he might be helped by equity. And so the Archbishop favoured his cause. For which the Secretary writ him thanks. But he replied, "he could do "no less of duty to her Highness, and of humanity to-"wards him, than to do as he had done. And yet ye may "be sure, said he, not against justice, I trust, nor against "my conscience; only supplying by equity, where extre-"mity of law might have moved matter."

His high regard to the Queen.

To the Queen he ever bore a high regard; and though she would sometimes take him up, and others of her Clergy, and be perhaps too sharp upon them for lesser matters, yet he abated not in the least his duty and love to her Majesty; by whom such a vast blessing as the reformation of religion accrued to the Church. She was a critical hearer, and

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would sometimes take offence at the preachers that came up before her. And therefore the Archbishop took a special care of her Lenten preachers, and did now and then alter the combination, by striking out some, and putting in others, that might be more acceptable to her. And the better to know the abilities of the preachers in the nation, he oftentimes would appoint them to preach in his chapel before him. When the Secretary once sent him the list of the preachers appointed to preach before the Queen the Lent ensuing, Dr. John Bullingham, (who was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester,) was one of them, him the Archbishop disapproved. He took him, as he wrote to the Secretary, to be an honest true-meaning man, and once he so far credited others, much commending him, that he preferred him to preach before the Queen: but he intended not hereafter so to do; because, as he said, he would that her Highness should have the best. And having heard him in his chapel, he said, he perceived in him neither *pronunciationem aulicam*, nor *ingenium aulicum*, not meet for the Court. And therefore he appointed Dr. Young of Cambridge [of Pembroke hall] to supply his room. Who, it seems, was a more courtly preacher.

Osorem sui, præter religionis et reip. hostes, neminem habuit. Matth.

And thus, by the honest discharge of his duty to the Queen, to the Church, and to single persons, in any matters that came before him, he gained the reputation of a most unbiassed judge, of a conscientious governor of the Church, and an unfeigned promoter of true religion, and the good of his country. And though his steadiness created him some ill-willers, yet he had at length a general reverence and respect from all good men. And if he had any enemies, they were such only as were enemies also to religion and the public weal.

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He recovered, and published divers learned Saxon books.

HIS learning, though it were universal, yet it ran chiefly upon antiquity. Insomuch that he was one of the greatest antiquarians of the age. And the world is for ever beholden to him for two things; *viz.* for retrieving many ancient authors, Saxon and British, as well as Norman, and for restoring and enlightening a great deal of the ancient history of this noble island. He lived in, or soon after, those times, wherein opportunities were given for searches after these antiquities. For when the abbeys and religious houses were dissolved, and the books that were contained in the libraries thereunto belonging underwent the same fate, being miserably embezzled, and sold away to tradesmen for little or nothing, for their ordinary shop-uses; then did our Parker, and some few more lovers of ancient learning, procure, both by their money and their friends, what books soever they could: and having got them into their possession, esteemed many of them as the greatest treasures. Which other ignorant spoilers esteemed but as trash, and to be burnt, or sold at easy rates, or converted to any ordinary uses.

A great antiquarian.

He was therefore a mighty collector of books, to preserve, as much as could be, the ancient monuments of the learned men of our nation from perishing. And for that purpose he did employ divers men proper for such an end, to search all England over, and Wales, (and perhaps Scotland and Ireland too,) for books of all sorts, more modern, as well as ancient; and to buy them up for his use; giving them commission and authority under his own hand for doing the same. One of these, named Batman, in the space of no more than four years, procured for our Archbishop to the number of 6,700 books. It seems to be almost incredible then, what infinite volumes all the rest of his agents in many more years must have retrieved for him. But take this in the very words of the said Batman, in a

A mighty collector of books.

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book which he published anno 1581. Where speaking of our Archbishop under the year 1575, in which he died, he saith; "with whom books remained, (although the most "part [of them] according to the time, superstitious and "fabulous, yet,) some worthy the view and safe keeping, "gathered within four years, of divinity, astronomy, his-"tory, physic, and others of sundry arts and sciences, (as I "can truly avouch, having his Grace's commission, where-"unto his hand is yet to be seen,) 6,700 books, by my own "travel. Whereof choice being taken, he most graciously "bestowed many on Corpus Christi college in Cambridge. "I was not the only man in this business, but others also did "their good-wills. This alone was a rare work, besides "many other his good deeds." Thus he.

Doom warning all men to judgment, p. 400. Shewn me by Mr. Bagford.

It was in those times that many of our choicest MSS. were conveyed out of the land beyond sea. Of this our Archbishop complained often; taking it heavily, as he wrote in one of his letters to Secretary Cecyl, "that the "nation was deprived of such choice monuments, so much "as he saw they were in those days, partly by being spent "in shops, and used as waste paper, or conveyed over be-"yond sea, by some who considered more their own private "gain than the honour of their country." This was the reason he took so much pleasure in the said Secretary's library; "that such MSS. might be preserved within the "realm, and not sent over by covetous stationers, or spoiled "in the apothecaries' shops."

The destruction of libraries lamented by the Archbishop,

That hard fate indeed did abundance of our country's books meet with in that age. Bale, another great antiquarian, said, "that a great number of those that purchased "those monasteries reserved the books of those libraries; "some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candle-"sticks, some to rub their boots; some they sold to the "grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to "the bookbinders: not in small numbers, but at times "whole ships full, to the wondering of foreign nations." And he said he knew a merchant that bought two noble libraries for forty shillings. And these he used instead of

And by Bale.

Preface to Leyland's New Year's Gift.

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gray paper, by the space of more than ten years; and yet he had store enough for as many years to come. SECT. II.

This he elsewhere laments, upbraiding our nation with the dishonour of it; wishing heartily the Pope's laws and the Schoolmen had undergone this fate, rather than our ancient authors both of history and divinity. "If," said he, "the Bishop of Rome's laws, decrees, decretals, extravagants, Clementines, and other such dregs of the Devil; yea, of Heytesburie's sophisms, Porphyrie's universals, Aristotle's old logics, and Dunse's divinity, with such other lousy legerdemains, and fruits of the bottomless pit, had leaped out of our libraries, and so become coverings for books, coming from the foreign nations, we might well have been therewith contented. But to put our ancient chronicles, our noble histories, our learned commentaries, and homilies upon the Scriptures, to so homely an office of subjection and utter contempt, we have both greatly dishonoured our nation, and also shewed ourselves very wicked to posterity." 529 In his register.

For the retrieving of these ancient treatises and MSS. as much as might be, the Archbishop had such abroad, as he appointed to lay out for them wheresoever they were to be met with, as was shewn before. He had a very choice collection of ancient MSS.

But he procured not a few himself from such in his own time as were studious in antiquity: as, namely, several Saxon books from Robert Talbot, a great collector of such ancient writings in King Henry the Eighth's time, and an acquaintance of Leland, Bale, &c. Some of which writings the said Talbot had from Dr. Owen, the said King Henry's physician: and some our Archbishop likewise had from him; as appears in one of the Cotton volumes*: which is made up of a collection of various charters, &c. written out by Joh. Joscelyn. Where at some of these MSS. collected, the said Joscelyn adds these notes, *The copy of this Dr. Talbot had of Dr. Owen. The Archbishop of Canterbury had this charter from Dr. Owen*, &c. There be other collections of this nature now remaining in Bene't college, sometime belonging to this Talbot, which we may presume Some procured from Rob. Talbot, And Dr. Owen. * Vitellius D. 7. Literatur. Antiq. p. 239.

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the Archbishop, partly by his own interest, and partly by the interest of Bale, Caius, and others, obtained; particularly, his annotations upon that part of Antoninus's *Itinerarium* which belongs to Britain. And another, *De Chartis quibusdam regum Britannorum.* These are mentioned by Anthony à Wood.

Athen. Oxonien.

He kept skilful writers. Lyly.

And he kept such in his family as could imitate any of the old characters admirably well. One of these was Lyly, an excellent writer, and that could counterfeit any antique writing. Him the Archbishop customarily used to make old books complete, that wanted some pages; that the character might seem to be the same throughout. So that he acquired at length an admirable collection of ancient MSS. and very many too: as we may conjecture from his diligence for so many years as he lived, in buying and procuring such monuments. The remainders of his highly valuable collections are now preserved in several libraries of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but chiefly in that of Bene't college, Cambridge.

Manuscript historians he caused to be printed.

Some of these ancient historians of our nation, which he met with, he took a great deal of pains in fitting for the press, to preserve them to posterity by procuring them to be printed. In the year 1570, he published *Flores Historiarum*, written by Matthew Westminster, styled *Florilegus.* Who writ chiefly of the British affairs: the history commencing from the beginning of the world to the year 1307. printed at Frankford. The following year he published Matthew Paris's greater history, reaching from William the Conqueror to the last year of Henry the Third. Printed at Zurich. In the year 1574, he published *Alfredi Regis res gestas ab Asserio Shirburnensi Episcopo conscriptas.* The short history of Thomas of Walsingham, reaching from Edward I. to Henry V. *cum Hypodigmate Neustriæ, sive Normanniæ.*

Vid. Camden's preface to his Scriptores Anglici, &c.

His edition of Asser.

His edition of Asser, surnamed Menevensis, from the place of his birth, was somewhat rare: for he put it forth exactly according to his MS. copy; that is, the language was Latin, but the letters were Saxon. Though, as we now

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ordinarily have the book in Camden's edition of the *Scriptores Anglici, Normannici*, &c. the Saxon letter is not used. And this he did as well to revive the old Saxon learning, as to testify his faithfulness in the edition of the book; which was so exactly and literally done from the original MS. For in his preface to that book, he desired the reader to observe, that in all the books that he put forth, he never added any thing of his own, nor diminished 530 from the copy; but expressed, to a word, every thing as he found them in the originals. For he feared, as he there said, if he should have put in any thing of his own, out of pretence to smooth the wrinkles, and wipe off the stains of antiquity, that what Cornelius Nepos writ to Sallust might be verified of him, "that they might not seem so much "their histories that writ them, as his own." And to let all men further know his integrity in that edition, he sent the original copy thereof to be kept in the Bene't college library: and publicly signified as much to the world in his preface, for all to have recourse unto, that would. For he set learned prefaces before this and the other historians he put forth.

These historians reprinted by Camden.

All these authors did our learned and laborious Camden reprint in the year 1603, at Frankford, and added in this edition many other English historians. But the number of the authors he had there collected do fall far short of an hundred and more. Which number of our historians Leland saw and had; "who from time to time, with great dili-"gence, and no less faithfulness, prescribed the acts of the "kings of this land, and the fortune of the realm; so in-"credibly great, he said, that he that had not seen and "thoroughly read their works, could little pronounce in that "part." This large number of historical writers of our own country John Bale asserts to be most true of his own knowledge; saying, that it was great pity, that we had not abroad those worthy and ancient monuments of our predecessors. And the same pity put our Archbishop upon publishing some of them.

See his New-Year's Gift, put forth by Bale.

I need not mention his admirable book of the lives of the

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His British Antiquities.

Francis Thinn.

Archbishops of Canterbury; which he might well style *the British Antiquities;* there being such a plentiful treasure of choice antiquities collected together. Francis Thinn, the industrious herald, made great use of this book in his catalogue of English Cardinals. Of this work I have spoken before.

His skill in ancient liturgies.

His great skill in antiquity reached to ecclesiastical matters as well as historical; whereby he became acquainted with the ancient liturgies and doctrines of the Christian Church in former times. He utterly disliked therefore the public offices of the present Roman Church, because they varied so much from the ancient. Which made him think it highly necessary, that the Church's service should be purged from abundance of novel ceremonies and superstitions crept into it. And in his former mentioned book he declared himself to this purpose. Which, by the way, it may not be amiss to hint, how Archbishop Laud's accusers urged against him at his trial; *viz.* that his predecessor Archbishop Parker found fault on that account with the consecration of churches. But that Archbishop answered fully, and undoubtedly according to the mind of Archbishop Parker, "that he did not find fault simply with the "*consecration* of churches, but only with the superstitious "ceremonies used therein:" and quoted the place in that Archbishop's book, wherein he had these words, that, "'for "want of piety or prudence, their [the Romanists] later "pontifical and missal books did outgo the ancient, *in multitudine ceremoniarum, et peragendi difficultate et tædio, "et exorcisationis amentia*; *i. e.* in the multitude of cere-"monies, in the difficulty and toil of performing them, "and in the folly of exorcising.' These," said Archbishop Laud, "were the things he found fault with, not with con-"secration itself; which he could not well do, being then a "consecrated Bishop."

Archbishop Laud's trial.

Antiq. Britan. p. 85.

The Saxon Gospels published by his means.

The Archbishop was the great instrument of putting out the Saxon Gospels, which were published in the year 1571, in quarto, the care of which lay upon John Fox, who set an epistle dedicatory to the Queen before the book.

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Wherein he said, men were beholden to Archbishop Parker, "by whose industrious diligence and learned labours this "book, with many more, had been collected and searched "out of the Saxon monuments." Therein he mentioned a Saxon sermon put forth by the said Archbishop, which we shall take notice of in the next paragraph. Of his procuring this edition of the Gospels, he speaks himself in his preface to the history of Asserius Menevensis, as we shall read by and by. This Saxon book of the Gospels was in the year 1665. reprinted at Dort by Dr. Marshal, preacher to the English there, and afterwards Rector of Lincoln college in Oxford.

SECT. II.

A notable Saxon sermon brought to light by him.

A notable sermon also in Saxon in favour of the Protestant doctrine of the sacrament, after some hundred years' obscurity, was retrieved and brought to light by the Archbishop. Elfrick, Abbot of St. Alban's, about 996. translated it out of Latin, to be read to the people before Easter. In the Preface to which are these words: "From Worcester, "Hereford, and Exeter, divers books (that is, in the Saxon "tongue) have been delivered into the hands of Archbishop "Parker: by whose diligent search for such writings of his-"tory, and other monuments of antiquity, as might reveal "unto us what hath been the state of our Church in Eng-"land from time to time, these things which be here made "known unto thee do come to light." The title of the sermon is, *A Sermon of the Paschal Lamb, and of the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the Reign of the Saxons to be spoken unto the people at Easter, before they should receive the Communion: and now first translated into our common English speech.* This Saxon sermon is printed in Fox's second volume. But he hath left out several passages, which contained some legendary miracles relating to the Sacrament, and some particular passages which look favourably towards the doctrine of the Church of Rome: which are not omitted in the Archbishop's edition of the book.

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Saxon books

For the further explaining of what is said before, let me

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escaped the Roman destruction of books.

Pag. 1041.

add, that in Archbishop Lanfrank's time, who lived under William the Conqueror, all Latin books, that had any expressions against a bodily presence in the Sacrament, were craftily abolished by the Papists. And so John Fox observes in his Acts and Monuments, that in the time of Lanfrank and Pope Innocent, studying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of transubstantiation, they did abolish and raze out of libraries and churches all such books which made to the contrary. And because Lanfrank and other Italian Priests here in England understood not the Saxon books as they did the Latin, all that they understood they made away: but the Saxon books, because they knew them not, remained. For proof whereof he offered it to be considered,

I. That whereas eighty sermons were translated out of the Latin into Saxon by Elfrick aforesaid, which were used to be read on Sundays and holydays to the people, there is no Latin copy thereof extant: no, not of that one sermon of the Sacrament before mentioned, though there were divers copies of it in Saxon found: two whereof Archbishop Parker had. There were also two epistles translated out of Latin into Saxon, by the said Elfricus, belonging to the church of Worcester, the one written to Wulfsine, Bishop of Shyrburn, against the bodily gross presence, the other to Wulfstane, Archbishop of York, against the said error. But the Latin could not be found. Fox hath exemplified the Saxon translation of these epistles.

II. That there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of a Latin epistle of the said Elfrick in the library of Worcester; wherein so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation was discovered to be so erased, that no letter nor piece of a letter did there appear. And there was about the middle a very notable sentence [b] of that nature defaced. But the Saxon copy being found in the archives of Exeter church, the whole sentence is very happily restored. This epistle is now in the library of Bene't college. Vid. p. 533.

[b] The sentence was this, *Non est tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, &c.*

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SECT. II.

III. By one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil, while he was in England, the properties and doings of all other Italian Papists, in former times, may partly be conjectured. For so Fox was informed, by such as precisely would affirm it to be true: that when Polydore, being licensed by the King to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had procured in his said search, in the end, when he had taken out what he would, he piled those ancient books together, and set them all on a light fire: by these things laid together, the conjecture of Mr. Edw. Brown, the publisher of the *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum*, &c. might not be improbable (notwithstanding what Mr. Wharton writes against it) in the sentence he caused to be inserted in the old book of Rochester, concerning Lanfranc, which we shall find in the next chapter.

Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 55.

Besides the mention of these Saxon books, I will trace a few more, whereof the Archbishop was Master, which are still in being; not only in the Bene't college library, the chief treasury of his MSS. but in other archives in the nation; as the most industrious antiquary, Mr. Hum. Wanley, hath discovered them (with other Saxon monuments) to the world, in his most laborious Catalogue of books, yet remaining in England, of the Ancient Northern Literature. Wherein he hath also given a brief and critical account of these books, as he hath of all the rest set down in his catalogue.

532 His Saxon MSS.

Antiquæ Literat. Septentrional. Libror. Catalog. impress. 1705.

A vellum book, containing, I. St. Hierom's Roman Psalter, with the Saxon interlinear version. Where the Latin text is in black, the Saxon version in red, and the titles in green. II. Sacred hymns; whereof some (as of Esay, of Anna, of Moses, &c. of the Three Children, the *Magnificat*, and some others) are in Latin and Saxon; the rest, with many prayers, are in Latin only. It is esteemed to have been writ a little before the Conquest. This curious book the Archbishop gave to the Lord Keeper Bacon, his friend and countryman, who gave it again to the library of the University of Cambridge in the year 1574, when it was new-

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founding by the industry of Dr. Perne, Vice-Chancellor: where it still is. And in memory of the gift are these words writ at the beginning of the book: *This book was bequeathed by the right reverend Father Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knt. Lord Keeper, &c. who did give the same to the University of Cambridge anno* 1574.

Another vellum book in a small folio, containing several tracts: whereof the first is the four Gospels in English Saxon with rubrics. It sometime belonged to the church of Exon; and was given to the said church by Leofric, Bishop of the church of St. Peter the Apostle in Exon. In the year 1566. Gregory Doddes, Dean of the said church, with the assent of his brethren the Canons, gave it to our Archbishop: who gave it, as it seems, to the abovesaid public library; where it now also is, with this inscription: *Hunc codicem Evangeliorum, Gregorius Dodde, Decan. ecclesiæ Exonien. cum assensu Fratrum suorum Canonicorum, dono dedit Matthæo Cantuarien. Archiepiscopo: qui illum in hanc novam formam redigi, et ornari curavit* 1566. This book was writ about the time of the Conquest.

Another folio book in vellum, elegantly writ, and in the same library. It contains Pope Gregory the Great's tract, *De Cura Pastorali*, in four books, turned by way of paraphrase into the Saxon language by King Ælfrede: also that King's preface, with a poem, wherein the book speaks to the reader; turned out of Saxon into Latin by some modern person. Which the learned catalogist supposeth to be Will. Lambard. In the end of this book are two letters of Bishop Jewel to the Archbishop, which makes it evident it was his book. This book was writ a little after the Conquest.

Another vellum book in large octavo, in the same library of Cambridge. In it is contained a collection of Saxon homilies. The first homily here is for the third Sunday after Theophany on this Gospel, *When he came down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him, &c.* which is the Gospel for the third Sunday after Epiphany with us to

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this day. This book was writ a little after the Conquest; and anciently belonged to the abbey of Tavistock in Devon; found in that monastery by one R. Ferrar, a servant of the Earl of Bedford, ann. 1566. In one place of the book is writ, *Franciscus Comes Bedfordiæ* 1566, by his own hand. The said Earl gave this book to Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, 29 Decemb. 1567, in the Star-chamber, as the Archbishop wrote with his own hand. And he gave it to the University of Cambridge, 1570. This homily book is imperfect, as appears by other books that have the same homilies. The last homily in this volume, which is the thirty-sixth, is very imperfect toward the latter part of it, but is very handsomely restored by the care and order, as it seems, of the Archbishop, the owner.

A book in parchment, in large octavo. It is a book also of Saxon homilies; and was designed by the Archbishop for the library of Bene't college, as the tenth book of the Saxon homilies, but by some chance was lost, as Mr. Wanley conjectures; but afterwards found by his son John Parker, and, together with some other books, was given by him to the library of Trinity college in Cambridge, where it now is. This MS. is ancient, and was writ a little before the Conquest.

Another book, which contains *Ælfrici Excerpta ex Pris-* 533
ciano majore et minore, without the glossary. It was given to the same Trinity college library, by Thomas Nevil, Dean of Canterbury, some time Master of that college. The book hath John Parker's name in it; which makes it probable it was sometime another of the Archbishop's books.

Another in quarto, in the same library, being much the same with the former, being *Ælfric's Excerpta* out of Priscian or his grammar. The prefaces having been wanting were restored by some late hand, which Mr. Wanley supposes were procured to be done by the said Archbishop. In this volume are also added certain moral precepts in Saxon, for the younger sort.

A parchment book in folio, in the foresaid library. It contains the lives and passions of some saints, in Latin, and Gregory the Great's book of the *Pastoral Care* in Saxon, translated by King Ælfrede; and by the preface of the

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BOOK IV.

translator was sent to Wulfsine, Bishop of Shyrburn. Somebody set this annotation at the beginning of the book: *Hic ipsus est liber quem Alvredus Rex misit ad ecclesiam Syreburnensem, quem et transtulit ex Pastorali Gregorii Latinè in Anglicum.* But our learned author finds, that the characters in which it was writ shewed it to be long after Ælfrede's time, *viz.* in the eleventh century. This was the book, he believed, that Bishop Jewel took from the library of his church, and transmitted to our Archbishop, as was mentioned under the year 1568; because there are no rubrics or titles in this book, whereby that learned man (but ignorant of Saxon learning) acknowledged, in his letter to the said Archbishop, that he knew neither the writing nor the author.

A book in little octavo, in the same library; it is writ in Norman-Saxon, about the time of Henry II. or Richard I. What the book contains appears by the title, viz. *Rhithmus Anglicus cum Omeliis Anglicis.* It hath verses of God, of the day of judgment, &c. After the title is added this hexastic by the antiquarian W. Lambard, as it seems, recommending the sweetness of ancient writings, and directing with what caution they should be read:

Abdita quæ tenebrans monumenta recondidit ætas,
Ætas nunc tandem clara retexit ea.
Quæ licet ad sanctum non sint referentia cultum,
Temporis id nævus simplicitasque fuit.
Si libes quæ sunt sapida, insipidumque recuses,
Ipsa vetustatis gratia dulcis erit.

W. L.

Then follows commendations of the same man, in whose possession this book was, in a letter to Archbishop Parker by some unknown, to this tenor: "Many will brag of their "knowledge, and having of antiquities; but the writer of "the verses above is the only man that ever I could be ac-"quainted with, for the reading of this book, and other "antiquities. His calendar of the Bible may appear to "your Grace. But I most humbly beseech you, that the "painful works by him gathered, after your Grace hath

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"perused, might not be wrapt up in oblivion. How he "hath travailed in the Armenian tongue may appear"—— The rest is wanting. The person that writ this, I strongly conjecture to be Tho. Wotton, Esq. both worshipful, godly, and truly learned in antiquities, and a correspondent and friend of the Archbishop's.

Other Saxon books in C. C. C. C. library.

In the private library of Bene't college were several Saxon books more; all formerly belonging to our Archbishop, and of his procuring. Among these I may mention three or four of remark, *viz.*

K. 2.

A parchment book in a small folio, formerly belonging to the church of Worcester; wherein are two epistles of Ælfric, *ad Sacerdotes.* In one of which epistles it is thus written, *Non sit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis. Sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit, &c.* Where in the margin is this annotation, (which seems to be Joscelyn the Archbishop's secretary's hand,) *Quidam Papista hic abraserat tres lineas; sed restituuntur à veteri libro Exoniensis Bibliothecæ, in quo etiam hic habetur tractatus.* This note, I am apt to believe, the Archbishop caused to be entered here.

534 L. 12.

A parchment book in small folio, which was the Exeter volume above mentioned, inscribed L. 12. wherein, among other tracts, is a discourse of Abbot Ælfric to the priests; where those words are that had been rased in the book of Worcester, as is specified before. Whereby all men may see the faithful dealings of the Papists. This Mr. Fox long since took notice of, as I have observed before.

P. 111. a.

In a Saxon homily in this book is a period likewise against the corporal presence; which the industrious author of the catalogue of Saxon books seasonably takes notice of, viz. *Thæc husel, &c.* that is to say, *That sacrament is Christ's body, not bodily, but ghostly,* and so on.

Another book in small folio, being a collection of homilies, venerable both for the original owner, and the great antiquity of it: being a translation of them out of Latin

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BOOK IV.

into Saxon, long before the Conquest, by the oft-mentioned Abbot Ælfric. And was his own book, as appears by the writing near the end, which is as follows; *Hunc sermonem* [*viz.* upon the nativity of a certain confessor] *nuper rogatu venerandi Episcopi Æthelwoldi scil. Junioris, Anglicè transtulimus; quem hujus libelli calci inscribi fecimus; nè nobis desit, cum ipse habeat.*

S. 16.

The Rede Book of Darby [in the Peak.] In this book is contained a dialogue between Solomon and Saturn, writ with an old hand in Saxon verses; the missal writ about 1061, and other things. Upon this book by a late hand is this written; *This book was sometime had in such reverence in Darbyshire, that it was commonly believed, that whosoever should swear untruly upon this book should run mad.*

L. 15.

Another parchment book in quarto, and very ancient, (which though in Latin, yet for the rarity let me mention with the rest of the Archbishop's collections,) being writ in somewhat great and round Roman letters; and contains the four Gospels in Latin, according to the version of St. Hierom; but not without lections of greater moment, differing from the vulgar edition. Mr. Wanley is apt to think it one of those books that Gregory the Great sent to Augustin the Apostle of the English, and first Archbishop of Canterbury, eleven hundred years ago. And this conjecture he makes from the colour of the ink, the ducture of the letters, and the appearance of the parchment, all so differing from ours. This book belonged to the abbey of St. Augustin's, Canterbury, eight hundred years ago, as is evident from an agreement writ in Saxon, a little before the beginning of the Gospel of St. Mark, and other writings in that book. It is commonly called St. Austin's Gospel, and is said by some to have stood anciently upon the high altar of the church of Canterbury, with an old Psalter also placed there, called *St. Thomas's Book*, that has a picture of David in it. It is still in the Bene't college library, (as is the foresaid four Gospels,) and styled in the catalogue *Psalterium antiquissimum.*

Literar. Septentr. p. 151.

N. 10.

A parchment book in a little quarto, containing Ælfric's

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Grammar; or *Excerpta ex Donato.* The former part of this book is lost; but Archbishop Parker caused it to be supplied very neatly and exactly, with this annotation; *Memorandum, quod in hac Grammatica Saxonica, quæ de novo scribuntur, habent glossam interlinearem, sic scriptam, ut in exemplari libri Grammatici Saxonici habetur. Quæ postea in veteri scripto, sequuntur, illud exemplar de quo transcriptum est: viz. ut quæ in alio libro per glossam interlinearem inseruntur, habent hanc glossam scriptam in medio et serie contextûs.* SECT. II. N. 19.

A paper book in a small quarto, writ out by an amanuensis of the Archbishop: containing a book, as it seems, of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winton, *De Consuetudine Monachorum*, in Saxon. These two last books I mention, as instances to shew what a restorer, transcriber, and preserver our Archbishop was of the ancient Saxon books of this English nation.

In the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is an ancient book of the four Gospels in Saxon, before the Conquest. This book the foresaid exact writer concludes once to have belonged to our Archbishop. And whereas it was defective in several places, and many leaves gone, those defects are restored and supplied in a modern hand by the commandment of our Archbishop, as is very probable, it being his great endeavour, by the help of perfect copies, to make up the wants in others.

So that the beforesaid learned person, and one of the best seen now living in those ancient languages of the nation, hath deservedly given our Archbishop the first place of honour and commendation, for retrieving the books and writings of those times. For in his Preface to his learned book of that argument, after he had been lamenting the utter loss 535 of many hundred Saxon books, and many thousand charters of English Saxon Kings and Bishops; and yet taking notice withal, that so many of such monuments remained in the monasteries, however destroyed by the Danes, plundered by the Normans; and (after that) notwithstanding the civil wars of the Barons, the dreadful discords of the houses

Literatura Antiq. Septentrional.

The nation ever beholden to the Archbishop for retrieving Saxon antiquities.

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BOOK IV.

of York and Lancaster, and the dissolution of religious houses under King Henry VIII. he then descended (after these spoilers) to take notice of this great finder, restorer, and preserver of such antiquities. *Quod verò tot Anglo-Saxonum, Anglo-Danorumque, scripta reliqua etiamnum sunt, id maximè debetur curæ et diligentiæ reverendissimi Matthæi Parkeri, Cantuarien. Archiepiscopi: qui codices chartasque diversas undique collegit, collectos magna ex parte perlustravit, et ab interitu servavit.*

Saxon annals.

The Archbishop was also a diligent collector of Saxon annals, and as diligent a reader of them, as appears by the red lines in several places, drawn under the writing of such a chronicle in the same Bodleian library, which the reverend Dr. Edmund Gibson made use of in his edition of the *Chronicon Saxonicum*.

The use he made of the Saxon translations.

Thus we have seen how our Archbishop sought much after Saxon antiquities, and many of them he made subservient to the vindication of our reformation in opposition to Popery: and particularly Saxon translations of the Scripture; of which he met with divers. In his Preface to the English Bible, he tells us of very many ancient translations of the Bible that were then extant, which he had seen, that for the age of the speech, and strangeness of the character, were almost worn out of knowledge. And of those that had laboured about these translations into the vulgar tongue, some had been Kings of the land, and some Bishops, and some Abbots, and some other devout Fathers. Of which kind of antiquity he made this good use, as well to justify our own doings in translating the sacred Scriptures, as to make it serve as an argument against the present Church of Rome, that labour what they can, that those holy books be not translated, and suppress the knowledge of them from the people, by keeping them locked up in an unknown language.

The chief reviver of the Saxon.

Indeed he was the chief retriever of that our ancient native language, the Saxon I mean, and encouraged heartily the study of it. This was one of the reasons that moved him to cause the author of King Alfred's life before-men-

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SECT. II.

tioned, to be printed in those old characters: namely, that he might bring on the readers to the study of the Saxon language. That being arrived to the knowledge of the character, they might convert their endeavours towards the Saxon writings. From which, he said, might be reaped no small pleasure, and incredible profit too, by the searching into ancient monuments. Besides, it was worth one's pains, as he added, to compare our country language, which we now use, with that obsolete and almost extinguished speech; and while we are comparing them, to observe how like they are, and almost the same. And for that cause chiefly he took care, that the four Gospels should be printed in that language, and in the same form of character. And that the reader might the more easily attain the knowledge and understanding thereof, the English was joined with the Saxon in the margin, and distinguished with such notes and signs, that the sentences of each language might very readily be compared one with another. He said this moreover concerning the Saxon character, that it would be useful to the understanding of the Irish. For though the language was different, yet the letters, in which the books of the Irish were writ, were the same. And hereby a door might be opened to the knowledge of their tongue, in which had been written some very ancient books. The knowledge of the language would also be especially useful for such as should be sent on any messages to that people, or had any business of their own among them.

See his Preface to Asserius.

Encourages the study of it.

In fine, he mentioned a double benefit to arise from the understanding of the Saxon.

The advantage of understanding Saxon.

I. That the Saxons as well as the Britons were wont to express the memory of famous facts, and the nature of things, by the appellations they gave to places. Now this would be a great satisfaction to the reader, to know the import of the names of all the cities, towns, mountains, woods, rivers, and ways; and to understand whence all these are 536 derived, and from what fountains, as it were, they flow. Of which if any desired to taste, the Archbishop recommended him to Lambard of Lincoln's-inn; who had wrote a book,

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BOOK IV.

Lambard De Vet. Saxonum Leg.

De Veteribus Saxonum Legibus. Which Saxon laws he turned into Latin. In the Preface to this book, he acutely pursued the force and nature of some Saxon words. The studying of which book he commended unto such as desired to attain to the knowledge of that language, and of the laws of the ancient kings.

II. There are extant many patents and monuments of ancient times, and royal charters, preserved in archives, as well before as after the coming in of the Normans: and all these are comprised in Saxon words and letters. The useful knowledge of these would be obtained by the understanding of Saxon. Thence should the student make out many things which now lie hidden, and with little or no pains be able to unfold some abstruse matters, and the nature of many things, which are now intricate, and wrapt up from us.

His desire to promote it.

And to promote this learning, he mentioned further, what a concern former times had for this tongue, when it began to grow into disuse. That there were some nunneries founded by some of our forefathers, wherein it was appointed, that there should be some taught the knowledge of it, on purpose to preserve it, and transmit it to posterity, by communicating it down from one to another. Such was the nunnery at Tavistock in Devon; and many other which he could have named. Lastly, he made Day the printer to cut the Saxon types in brass; who was the first person that did it.

Day the printer.

Forwards a Saxon Dictionary.

And that ingenious men might be the more willing to engage in the study of this language, he laboured to forward the composing and publishing of a Saxon Dictionary. There were two, that by their reading and converse in various Saxon MSS. had made good store of collections of words. The one was Laurence Noel: and the other the Archbishop's own secretary, Joscelyn. Him the Archbishop earnestly excited to digest his collections into a Lexicon for the public benefit: which he accordingly intended to do, but was by death prevented; as was also Noel before him in his work, which he designed to publish under the name of a

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Saxon Vocabulary. After them John de Laet, of Antwerp, purposed such an useful labour; and after him Abraham Wheelock, the learned Arabic Professor at Cambridge, promised a Saxon Glossary. But still death prevented these good intentions, till William Somner, the learned antiquarian of Canterbury, happily effected it, in the year 1659. And lastly, I must not conceal another Vocabulary in Saxon and Latin, set forth in the year 1701, in a less volume, though containing more words, at Oxford, by the pains of Thomas Benson, of Queen's college.

SECT. II.

SECT. III.

Antiquarians, his acquaintance.

Held a communication with antiquaries.

FOR the better communication and increase of this antique learning, our Archbishop kept a correspondence with several great antiquarians, as among others with Sir William Cecyl, Stow, Lambard, to whom I must add John Bale, besides Flacius Illyricus, and other foreigners.

Sir Will. Cecyl.

A curious Bible, Latin and Saxon.

Cecyl and the Archbishop had a constant learned intercourse together, and used to communicate ancient MSS. to each other. Cecyl had in his study a very ancient Bible, written in Latin and old English or Saxon, and the translation very peculiar. This about the year 1565 he sent to the Archbishop to peruse, which after some time he returned back again, with his thanks for the sight thereof, and his judgment thereon. Which was, that he thought it worth his keeping, as well for the fair antique writing, with the Saxon interpretation, as also for the strangeness of the translation, which he had examined, and found to be neither the accustomed old text, [that is, as I suppose, the vulgar 537
Latin,] neither St. Hierom's, nor yet the LXX. At the six and twentieth Psalm it had a curious picture of King David, sitting with his harp or psaltery of eight or ten strings, and his Ministers about him with their *tubis ductilibus, et cymbalis sonoris*, &c. But this Psalter he found wanted a leaf,

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wherein should have been the first Psalm, and three verses of the second. Now his mind was to have made up this defect, by taking the picture, and placing it, as it might stand properly enough, before the whole Book of the Psalms; and being fair on the back-side, to have appointed his servant Lyly, an artist in such matters, to have written thereon what was defective. But the Archbishop declined to do it, because he called to mind, that Cecyl himself had a singular artificer to adorn the same. And so sent it back to him as he found it, advising him, that he would do well to have the monument (as he called it) finished: or else the Archbishop offered him to get it done himself, and then to remit it to his library. Which was a very choice one. For the riches whereof, the Archbishop told him, that in such treasures he rejoiced as much as though they were his own. For his care was in the preservation, rather than in the private possession of such antiquities.

Cecyl's library.

A curious old Psalter. Funeral Mon.

This ancient book calls to my mind an old Psalter, done out of Latin into English, which Weaver saith he saw in the Earl of Exeter's library, translated by one Richard, an heremite, which he supposed might be in the reign of Henry II. And he gives us some *specimina* thereof. In this book were not only the Psalms translated, but the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Nunc dimittis*, the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Apocalypse, all the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the whole year, muchwhat the same that we have now in our churches: also the *Pater Noster* and Creed. I do not think this was the same with that Psalter, or rather Bible, of Cycill's I mentioned before; but I strongly suspect this did belong to the same person's library, and that it descended into this Earl's possession from the said Cecyl, his ancestor. Of whose library Camden speaks how he borrowed no small light in his writing of his *Britannia* from it, styling it his *Instructissima Bibliotheca*.

In his Ep. D. before his Britannia.

John Stow.

As for Stow, it was from his hand the Archbishop received his copies of Matthew Paris, Matthew Westminster, Thomas Walsingham, and the other ancient historians,

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which he revised, and procured to be printed: as Stow in his own history tells us. Who tells us also, "that the "Archbishop was a person that made diligent search for "the antiquities of the Britons and English Saxons; "[and I believe Stow himself might be one of his agents in "these searches;] and that they might be carefully kept, "he caused them to be bound and covered; and such "whereof he knew there were very few examples, [or co-"pies,] he caused to be printed." SECT. III.

Lambard and our Archbishop conferred much their notes of antiquity together; and did mutually impart to each other their collections. And particularly the antiquities of Kent, Lambard left in the Archbishop's hands. The great learning of this man, as to antiquities especially, the Archbishop's value for him, and the characters he gave of him, do make sufficiently appear. As to his skill in the Saxon language and laws, thus he spake, *Est in ejusmodi rebus perscrutandis sagaci certè ingenio, et peracri.* And as to his knowledge of ancient history, he gave this account of him to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, when he sent him his book of Kent, that he was *an honest and well-learned observer of times and histories.* Which book, which he entitles his *Perambulation*, shews his choice learning and abilities: and so do also his *Justice of Peace*, and his Ἀρχαιονομία, published again by Wheelock at Cambridge, anno 1644. To which add his Topographical Dictionary, spoken of before: which I do not hear ever saw the light. But therein is a mass of curious antique observations of all the counties of England, picked up by him from time to time in his readings. William Lambard. Preface to Asserius.

To this antiquarian the Archbishop communicated an ancient copy of Matthew Paris, before any edition of it. Who took the pains to transcribe this learned Abbot's history. Which transcript yet remains in the Cotton library, wherein are extant these words written by himself: *Hujus libri duo tantummodo vidi vetusta exemplaria: quorum altera penes Henricum Arundeliæ comitem est: alterum* He transcribed Matthew Paris.

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BOOK IV. *vero penes Matthæum Cantuariæ Archiepiscopum. W. L.* This was dated by him anno 1565.

538 And here I cannot but add a passage communicated to me by my worthy old friend and contemporary, the Reverend Mr. Edward Brown, the publisher of the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, &c. now deceased: who once shewed me a MS. in parchment of very venerable antiquity, belonging to the church of Rochester, and therefore ordinarily called *Textus Roffensis*. Wherein, in a certain place of it, this Lambard had wrote about twelve or fifteen lines in Latin concerning Lanfrank, Archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose: "That the King of England being abroad, left the government of all the land in that Archbishop's hands. And that at that time the said Lanfrank caused the holy Scriptures, and the writings of the holy Fathers, to be all collected and gotten together; and then appointed them all to be mended, purged, and corrected." And in the margin this sentence is writ by the hand of the same Lambard, "That Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed this to be by him inserted in that book." By which words that learned Archbishop seemed to intimate, as the said Mr. Brown signified then to me, how the Popish party laboured even in those times, under pretence of correcting, to corrupt all the ancient writings, to make them look the more favourably upon their backsliding church and sophisticated doctrines. And they stuck not even at the sacred Scriptures themselves, to wrest them to speak the more agreeably to their superstitions and corruptions. And perhaps from this time chiefly is to be dated the foisting of many spurious pieces upon the Fathers, and falsifying the text of the vulgar Latin Bible. This was writ by Lambard in the year 1573, very likely at that time when our Archbishop was in Kent: being there partly for a visitation, and partly to entertain the Queen, who that year went in progress to Canterbury, and was there most nobly received by him. Since this time the said Mr. Brown thought fit to publish in his Preface to the *Fasciculus* the very

The Archbishop appointed Lambard to write a remarkable sentence in Rochester book;

P. xxxii.

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words written by the said Archbishop's order, in the above-mentioned book. Which were these, SECT III.

Quando Willielmus Rex gloriosus morabatur in Normannia, Lanfrancus erat princeps, et custos Angliæ, subjectis sibi omnibus principibus, et juvantibus in his, quæ ad defensionem vel pacem pertinebant regni, secundum leges patriæ; lectioni assiduus, et ante episcopatum, et in episcopatu, quando poterat. Et quia Scripturæ, scriptorum vitio, erant nimium corruptæ, omnes tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti libros, nec non etiam scripta sanctorum Patrum, secundum orthodoxam fidem studuit corrigere.

And shewed him a MS. of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.

To which I will subjoin what Lambard himself relates in his Perambulation of Kent[c]; that our Archbishop shewed him a certain MS. of venerable antiquity, which, as he supposed, had belonged to the library of Theodore, a Grecian born, Archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century. This MS. book contained David's Psalter, sundry homilies in Greek, Homer, and some other Greek authors, written beautifully in thick paper. The name of Theodore was prefixed. Which by the great antiquity of the book, he thought (not without good reason) that it sometime belonged to that Archbishop. And this was some of the learned society between our Archbishop and Lambard. Of the Homer, Godwin saith, that it was so fair and exquisitely writ, as no print in the world yet extant was thought to be comparable to it for truth or beauty.

[c] Pag. 283.

Catal. of Bish.

John Bale.

As for John Bale, I do also find footsteps of acquaintance between him and our Prelate. And it may be taken for granted that there was, their learning lying so much the same way; and Bale being a Prebendary of his church of Canterbury where he resided, and died some years after Parker's coming to that see. For after the coming of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, he returned not to his Irish bishopric, but contented himself with his prebend in this church.

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BOOK IV.

Gives the Archbishop an ancient MS.

He presented the Archbishop with an ancient MS. being a very learned tract in favour of the marriage of Priests, sent to Pope Nicolas, who had restrained Priests that liberty. This epistle began, *Cum tua, O Pater et Domine*, &c. It had been commonly before attributed to Hulderick, Bishop of Augsburgh. So Æneas Sylvius in his description of Germany; and Flacius Illyricus asserted, that the same epistle did still remain in certain old monuments, and that he had seen some copies of it, attributed to the said
539 Hulderick. But this old copy of it, which Bale had given to Parker, had a title as though another person, namely, Volusianus, Bishop of Carthage, were the writer, viz. *Hæc est rescriptio Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao de continentia clericorum, non justè, sed impiè, nec canonicè, sed indiscretè, tractanti, ita respondit.* I am apt to think that Bale did communicate this tract to our Prelate for his use, in compiling his book in vindication of Priests' marriage. Afterwards our Archbishop delivered it to John Fox, to insert in his large ecclesiastical history; where it may be read in his eighth book of Acts and Monuments. Fox saith there, that it was an old writing, both by the form of the characters, and by the wearing of the parchment, almost consumed by length of years and time.

This learned antiquary [Bale] died in the year 1563. Whose rare collection of MSS. after his decease, came, as I am apt to believe, into our Archbishop's hands by purchase. For he laid out for them immediately upon his death, fearing that they might be gotten by somebody else. Therefore he took care to bespeak them before others, and was promised to have them for his money, as he told Cecyl. And perhaps divers of those books, that do now make proud the University library, and that of Bene't, and some other colleges in Cambridge, were Bale's, before they were the Archbishop's.

His condition.

To leave a word or two concerning this famous man. He in his young days was a zealous man for the Papal superstitions, holding up his hands to rotten posts, as he himself

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expressed it, and calling them, as others did, *Their fathers in heaven*. For which he afterwards asked God mercy, as he said, a thousand times. He was married, and had wife and children; with whom, about the time of the six articles in King Henry's reign, he fled beyond sea into Germany. Here, in the year 1545, he published his book, Of the Image of both Churches: that is, a commentary upon the Apocalypse. Where speaking of John's flying into the isle of Patmos, and being an exile, he added, "And so did I [fly,] "a poor creature, with my poor wife and children." He was familiarly acquainted with the great Leland, and read in Leland's study many of his works; which if he had lived to set forth, he said, it would have been a wonder and miracle to the world, to have read some that learned man was preparing; as one book treating *De Antiquitate Britannica*, and another *De illustribus Viris*. But while he was busy about them, he was unhappily bereft of his wits. This Bale was a passionate lover of our ancient writings, and a great bewailer of the destruction of them, as was seen in part before. In his epistle to King Edward VI. "he lamented so great an oversight in the overthrow of abbeys "and monasteries, wherein the most worthy monuments of "this realm so miserably perished in the spoil. Wishing, "that men of learning, and of love to their nation, had "been then appointed to search their libraries, for the con-"servation of those most noble antiquities. Praising "Henry VIII. for appointing, by special commission, "Leland to oversee a number of their libraries. Reproach-"ing our nation, saying, that among all nations where he "had wandered, he found none so negligent and untoward "as he found England, in the due search of their ancient "histories. And elsewhere, he said, he could scarce speak "without tears, that the worthy works of men godly-minded, "and lively memorials of our nation, should perish with those "lazy lubbers and Popish belly-gods. He wished that in "every shire of England there had been one solemn li-"brary, for the preserving those noble works, and for the

Image of both Churches. Rev. xvii.

Before his edition of Leland's New Year's Gift.

In his Pref. to the New Year's Gift.

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BOOK IV.

"preferring of good learning in our posterity. And that "thus to destroy all without consideration would be unto "England for ever a most horrible infamy among the grave "seniors of other nations. And that neither the Britons "under the Romans and Saxons, nor the English people "under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of "their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time."

Bale, an elaborate searcher of libraries.

This Bale, by reason of the dangers of the professors of the reformed religion in King Henry's days, travelled into Germany, as was said before, where he published his book, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*. Coming into England, towards the latter end of King Henry, or beginning of King Edward, he most laboriously, as well as expensively, set himself to search many libraries in Oxford, Cambridge, London, (wherein there was but one, and that but a slender one too,) Norwich, and several others in Norfolk and Suffolk. Whence he had collected enough for another volume, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis:* a register of whose names, con-
540 sisting of near five hundred, he printed in the year 1549, at London, with an intention afterwards with their names to publish their acts, their ages, and the titles of their books, in the same method as he had used in his former book: though I think it never saw the light.

Camden's judgment of Parker, in his Ep. Ded. to his Scripta Normanica, &c.

But to return to our antiquarian the Archbishop; of whom give me leave to recite what two later antiquaries have spoke and judged in this regard. The one of these is the learned Camden: who called him, *Singularis ille omnium disciplinarum pater fautorque, et summus venerandæ antiquitatis cultor:* adding, "that he did, with great ex-"penses, and greater care, retrieve from all parts MSS. "books from ruin: which he reposited in the library of "C. C. C. C." And occasionally discoursing how it was one of the great wants of our country, that it had not yet any entire complete history of England, he said, that Archbishop Parker was the first and chief that made provision for such a desirable work. The other is the right reverend Bishop Godwin, who writ of him, "that his care for pre-

And Godwin's, in his Catalogue.

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"serving antiquities was not to be forgotten: to which his "care we are beholden for most of our ancient histories; "that, but for him, were even upon the point utterly to "perish."

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His episcopal qualities: and care of the Church.

How he interpreted the bearing in his arms.

HAVING thus made some observations upon our Archbishop, considered in a more private capacity; let us observe him a little in his high vocation, and in his government of the Church. And first, I cannot but observe how this pious Prelate made his paternal coat of arms (which indeed looked somewhat like a providential prognostic) a memorandum to himself of his episcopal duty. Which coat was three keys: to which, by royal favour, was added on a chevron as many bright stars. These *insignia*, i. e. *bearings*, he esteemed not so much marks of honour, as admonitions of his duty. The keys he interpreted to shew the power of binding and loosing, granted by Christ to his Bishops: and the stars to signify integrity of life and doctrine. So he, as warned hence, endeavoured to behave himself in this his high office; that is, to open the gates, as it were with keys, to such as would enter into the kingdom of God; and, the thick darkness of Popery being chased away, to bring the blind, as it were by the star in the east that went before the wise men, to the marvellous light of the word of God.

Lived in the port of an Archbishop.

His office did not so much adorn him as he adorned his office: he lived in the true quality of an English Archbishop. And his judgment was clear, for a man of his vocation to live in the *port of a Bishop*, as he used to express it. Not that he cared for honour, or affected state or greatness, as he once seriously told his friend the Lord Treasurer: but nevertheless, he thought it of great behoof for many good ends. And this was the reason he once assigned for the

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allowance of *commendams* to such as had small bishoprics; *viz.* that they might live like Bishops, and be hospitable and charitable, and patrons of learning and virtue. In his little country retirement at Bekesborn, besides what servants he left at Lambeth, he had little less than an hundred persons of his family, uprising and down lying; besides divers more, that for the straitness of lodgings were fain to take harbour abroad in the neighbourhood. And he had within his walls, in wages, drawers, cutters, painters, limners, writers, and bookbinders, besides officers of his household and of his courts, and many chaplains and other learned men, foreigners as well as others, whom he gave entertainment to. So that his housekeeping must needs be great and splendid, in that he had such a large family to provide for. And we may well believe, that his family was not only great, but good; not only large, but learned; and that his house was rather a church and an university, than a palace, when such eminent piety and profound learning harboured in the chief head and master. For so one of his own domestics, *viz.* Dr. Ackworth, in a letter to the Lord Burghley, gives an account of him in his own family, that he was *omnis divinæ ac humanæ cognitionis oraculum: interior autem consuetudo optima vivendi disciplina atque regula.* "The oracle of all divine "and human knowledge: but that his more private con-"versation was the best discipline and rule of living."

541 Ackworth's account of his family.

His servants and dependents. His engravers.

And now we are speaking of his servants and dependents, we may well mention his *sculptores*, or engravers, excellent in their art; whereof one was a foreigner named Hogenbergh, and another was called Lyne. He employed them much in genealogies, wherein indeed a noble part of ancient history consisteth. In Ruckholts, (in the parish of Low Leyton in Essex,) the mansion-house of the family of the Hickes's, Baronets, (whose ancestor was secretary to the Lord Treasurer Burghley,) there sometime was a large genealogy of the kings of England from the Conquest, well drawn down to Queen Elizabeth, and printed, with all the line of France and of England, under these two titles,

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Linea Valesiorum, and *Linea Angliæ*. And at the bottom the workmaster's name set, *viz. Remigius Hogenbergius, servus D. Matt. Archiep. Cant. sculpsit* 1574. Such another genealogical historical map there was, entitled, *Regnum Britanniæ tandem plene in heptarchiam reductum à Saxonibus, expulsis Britannis, anno* 686. Also, on one side of it is engraven a map, entitled, *Angliæ Heptarchia*. It is done in wood, but very plain and well. To which the name is set, *viz. Richardus Lyne, servus D. Matth. Archiep. Cant. sculpsit* 1574. In this map are described the seven kingdoms in seven columns, and the dioceses and counties contained in each kingdom. And in this table of genealogy is a threefold scheme. First, a scheme of all the British Kings, their names, and the years when they began to reign. Secondly, another of the Norman Dukes, to William the Conqueror, and the years when they began. And a third scheme of the Norman Kings, beginning at William the Conqueror, with the year and the day of the month of their respective reigns, to Queen Elizabeth then reigning. So that here was represented a complete history of England, succinctly, under one view.

Day his printer.

And with the Archbishop's engravers we may join his printer Day, who printed his British Antiquities, and divers other books by his order, and especially such as related to the injunctions and laws of the Church. For whom the Archbishop had a particular kindness. For as he was a promoter of learning, so, in order to that, of printing too. Day was more ingenious and industrious in his art, and probably richer too, than the rest, and so became envied by the rest of his fraternity; who hindered, what they could, the sale of his books; and he had in the year 1572, upon his hands, to the value of two or three thousand pounds worth; a great sum in those days. But living under Aldersgate, an obscure corner of the city, he wanted a good vent for them. Whereupon his friends, who were the learned, procured him, from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, a lease of a little shop to be set up in St. Paul's Churchyard. Whereupon he got framed a neat handsome shop. It was but little and low, and

His shop in St. Paul's Churchyard.

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flat roofed, and leaded like a terrace, railed and posted, fit for men to stand upon in any triumph or show; but could not in any wise either hurt or deface the same. This cost him forty or fifty pounds. But φθονέει δὲ τέκτονι τέκτων, his brethren the booksellers envied him, and by their interest got the Mayor and Aldermen to forbid him setting it up; though they had nothing to do there, but by power. Upon this the Archbishop brought his business before the Lord Treasurer, and interceded for him, that he would move the Queen to set her hand to certain letters that he had drawn up in the Queen's name to the City, in effect, that Day might be permitted to go forward with his building. Whereby, he said, his Honour would deserve well of Christ's Church, and of the Prince and State. The Archbishop also made another thing serve his turn as a seasonable argument; which was, that but lately the Queen's Privy Council had writ to him, and the other Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to help Day; perhaps in vending his books, and encouraging those of the Clergy to buy them.

Day not affected by the Puritans.

The Archbishop had made use of Day to print Dr. Clerk's answer to Sanders. Whereby he put him to a more than ordinary charge, *viz.* to cast a new set of Italian letters, which cost him forty marks. For our black English letter was not proper for the printing of a Latin book. And
542 neither he nor any else as yet had printed any Latin books; because in those days they would not be uttered here, but, to be sure, not abroad, the books printed here being in such suspicion in the Roman Catholic countries, as being supposed to be infected with heresy, and so not to be read. And therefore the Archbishop was willing to benefit him as much as he could. Indeed he had a favour for him, and perhaps a little the more, because, by his being employed in printing the ecclesiastical orders and injunctions from time to time, he was no ways affected by the Puritan party. It is certain one of the printers of Cartwright's book, Asplin by name, being afterwards taken into Day's house in November 1573, attempted the assassinating him and his wife, and some others of his family, and said,

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"he was moved by the Spirit to do it." As one Burchet not long before stabbed Captain Hawkins, by mistake, for Sir Christopher Hatton, because he was one that opposed that sort of men. And he was persuaded, that it was lawful to kill such as hindered the truth of the Gospel. Probably both acted by the same principle. An old principle, derived from that dangerous sect of the Anabaptists of Germany. One instance whereof we meet with in the year 1527, about which time it first sprung up. One of that sect in Sangal, a town in Switzerland, in the presence of his father and mother, killed his own brother, and cut off his head; and then said, "that he was moved by the Spirit of "God so to do."

Cam. Elizab.

Lanquet's Chronicle.

Leaves the see better than he found it.

And as our Archbishop lived in this decent port himself, so he did not in the least injure the revenues of the archbishopric thereby; but diligently preserved them, and left them more ample and better settled and confirmed than he found them. He subtracted nothing from the possessions and benefits of his church, but maintained all the rights and privileges of it, and delivered them over safe to his successors, that they also might have wherewithal to subsist and expend, for the honour of the see.

His care of the Church.

But our Archbishop's prime and main business, as it ought to be, was the care of the Church of England. And he was generally esteemed by the wisest and most understanding men in those difficult times, next to the Queen, the great stay of the reformed religion, and highly useful to the Church newly emerging out of superstition and idolatry. This is confirmed by one that was the Queen's Ambassador, a learned and knowing man in the affairs of the realm. "That the whole realm received great benefit by "his wise and zealous Christian governance in causes of "religion." Commending him also "for his good and "careful tendering of the advancement of God's truth" [rescued newly from the corruptions of Popery] "in this "his Church of England; whereof next to the Queen's "Most Excellent Majesty, the principal charge pertained "to him." And to him, she knowing his integrity and

Mr. Man, Ep. to Muscul. Comm. Places in England.

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A speech of the Queen to him.

abilities, committed the chief care of it. For she told him once, that "he had supreme ecclesiastical government, and "so she committed the chief inspection of the Church to "him." She consulted him always in the bestowing of her bishoprics. And because she would suffer them sometimes to lie a while vacant, he reminded her and her Counsellors often for the filling them. For he saw it highly necessary, that the dioceses should not be without the overseers, for the regulating the inferior Clergy, and the taking care that neither superstition nor innovation prevailed among the people. He was very diligent in his metropolitical visitations; visiting particular dioceses by his officers. As among others more latewardly, Norwich, Winchester, and Peterburgh. He had the Welsh bishoprics also visited; wherein much gross ignorance, and many remainders of superstition, and particularly concubinacy, prevailed among the Clergy. Then he did, or intended to, send Herle, the Warden of Manchester, a grave man, and excellent preacher, along with the rest of his visitors, to teach and instruct the people.

His endeavours for conformity to the Church's customs and laws.

And as he had a great care of the Church in general, so one great branch of that care extended to the pressing a conformity to the Queen's laws and injunctions. Which proceeded not out of fondness to the ceremonies themselves, but for some other causes. For he cared not for the cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, and such like, (as he told the Lord Treasurer expressly in a letter,) but for the laws so established he esteemed them. He took indeed great and indefatigable pains for the preserving the Church in that state, wherein it was constituted at its first reformation, against those innovators that were for pulling down the
543 walls of it, by labouring to overthrow its original constitution and government. This appeared chiefly in his earnestness about the Advertisements, besides other collateral injunctions and articles, that as occasion served he published and prescribed. The Puritans on the other hand resisted him; asserting, that we were scarce come to the face of a Church, and that it did but peep out from behind the

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skreen. So T. C. in his Admonition hath these words: "I "say, that we are so scarce come to the face of a Church "rightly reformed, that although some truths be taught by "some preachers, yet no preachers may, without great "danger of the law, utter all truths comprised in the book "of God. It is so circumscribed and wrapt up within the "compass of such statutes, such penalties, such injunctions, "such advertisements, such articles, such sober caveats, "and such manifold pamphlets, that in manner it doth but "peep out from behind the skreen." These being their sentiments, and our Archbishop on the other hand called upon so much by the Queen also, to see her Injunctions observed, and his own judgment and counsel concurring, that it was so necessary for obedience to be given to laws, he drew an extraordinary ill-will from the Puritans upon himself. They called him Papist, and Pope of Lambeth, and the like. And they used all their interest to bring him into disfavour at Court, procuring the Earl of Leicester to be his fatal enemy. Who was so to the last, and did, by his authority with the Queen, get almost every suit the Archbishop had with her to be disappointed or rejected.

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Whitgift's Defence, p. 38.

Drew on himself the hatred of the Puritans.

The Puritans upon all occasions blamed him, and reproached his officers. So Sampson, behind his back, in a private letter to the Lord Burghley, accused him as not taking that pains in the congregation, as he ought. That his offices and officers were guilty of great faults, and wanted reformation. And advising, that he, [the Lord Burghley,] being so great a Minister of State, should control and oppose his authority. The occasion whereof was this; Sampson, by reason of his palsy, was forced to lay down his lecture at Whittington college, to be read in term-time, the salary whereof was 10*l.* per annum. The lecture was in the dispose of the company of Clothworkers, London; who were to nominate a lecturer to the Archbishop, and he was to accept or refuse, according as he approved him. The said Sampson would fain have resigned to Dering. And the Archbishop was felt, to know if he would

Their accusations of him.

Anno 1574.

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Sampson writes to the Treasurer against him.

admit him; and if so, Sampson would be willing to resign to him: but the Archbishop utterly refused. Whereupon Sampson writ to the Lord Burghley, that he should command the Archbishop to comply in this matter; telling him, that he could command a greater thing at his hand. Adding these words; "Truly, my Lord of Canterbury deals "herein very straitly; though he like not to take such "pains in the congregation himself, yet he should not hinder "or forbid others, which are both able and willing. That, of "Mr. Dering, he could say boldly, that my Lord of Can-"terbury could neither find just fault with his doctrine, "nor yet fault his life. If your Lordship would but look "into the state of the Archbishop, as our policy hath "placed it, into the Canterbury offices and officers, you "could and would easily espy, *pro ea qua polles pia pru-"dentia*, such great faults, as do crave a reformation. For "it is time, if not more than high time, that they were re-"formed. Then he humbly beseeches him, that by his "authority he would control the authority of the Arch-"bishop of Canterbury, for Mr. Dering." As though he should have restrained the Archbishop's legal power, and have openly affronted him, and have broken off all friendship with him, to have gratified Mr. Sampson's desire.

The great patron of the Church of England.

And indeed I think, had not the Church met with such a stout and unwearied patron of it at that time, when there was such continual struggling to throw off its godly orders, and break in pieces those constitutions on which it was at first established, it would in all probability have never been able to have subsisted afterwards. So that I may call him our Church's Nehemiah. For as the Jewish Nehemiah built the walls of Jerusalem in so much opposition, and thereby got himself such everlasting fame for his good deeds to the state of Jerusalem, of whom Josephus writes, Μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη, *He left the walls of Jerusalem his eternal monument:* so the WALLS of our Jerusalem shall be Archbishop Parker's eternal monument; partly for building them up, chiefly for preserving them, being built, from being thrown down again.

Joseph. Antiq. lib.

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And so with all honour and respect we cease this long narration of Archbishop Parker, taking our leave of him, as one of the best deservers, in this our island, of religion, 544 learning, antiquity, of his country, and of the Church of England, triumphant at last over the malice of all his ill-willers: using a part of the epitaph his servant Alexander Nevyl once composed upon his death:

Ergò jace, venerande Senex, et murmure stulto,
Invidiâ majorque omni, fœlixque, peracto
Obdormi studio: nos hic tua facta sonamus,
Te plenique, et amore tuî, te flemus ademptum,
Te, te, magne Pater, nos hic veneramur, amamus,
Et tanti æternùm mirabimur acta Magistri.

END OF VOL. II.

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